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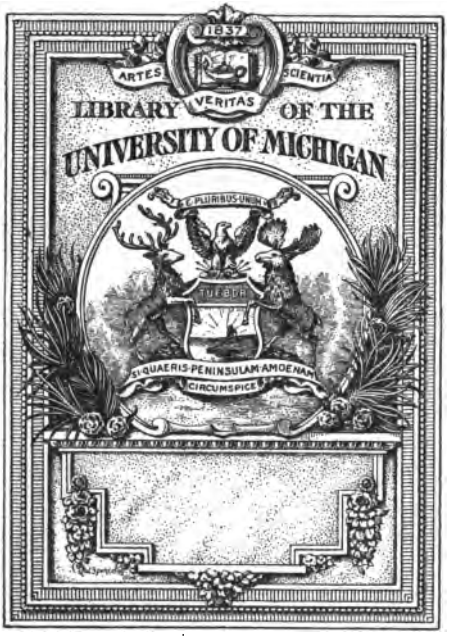

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THE EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OR

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ERRATA,

(But only in ſome Copies.)

P. 45. l. 13. from foot, after *indications of*, add *it*.
80. l. 8. from foot, for *exertion*, read *exiſtence*.
116. l. 1. for *excuſes*, read *exceſſes*.
126. l. 8. from foot, for *flagarent*, read *flagrant*.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OCTOBER 1805.

No. XIII.

ART. I: *Madoc, a Poem: in Two Parts.* By Robert Southey. 4to. pp. 560. London, Longman & Co.; And Edinburgh, Conſtable & Co. 1805.

MR SOUTHEY, we think, has great talents for poetry; and more learning and induſtry than commonly fall to the lot of thoſe who dedicate themſelves to the ſervice of the Muſes. But he has unfortunately great ambition, and great facility: and thoſe qualifications, which have often been the chief means of acquiring a poetical reputation, really ſeem to us to have operated in this caſe very unequivocally againſt it.

The *ambition* to which we aſcribe this unfavourable effect, is not, our readers will underſtand, of that regulated and manageable ſort which uſually grows up in old eſtabliſhed commonwealths, either political or literary—which aſpires at diſtinction through a juſt gradation of honours, and, looking at firſt with veneration to thoſe who have previouſly attained the heights of fame, ventures by degrees to follow their footſteps, and to emulate or ſurpaſs their achievements. Mr Southey's ambition, we are afraid, is of a more undiſciplined and revolutionary character. He affects to follow the footſteps of no predeceſſor, and to acknowledge the ſupremacy of no chief or tribunal: he rather looks, we think, with a jealous and contemptuous eye on the old ariſtocracy of the literary world, and refuſes the juriſdiction of its conſtituted authorities. He confines his admiration, in a great meaſure, to thoſe over whom he muſt be conſcious of poſſeſſing a decided ſuperiority, and ſeems to aim at dethroning the old dynaſty of genius, in behalf of an unaccredited generation.

It is true, no doubt, at the ſame time, that Mr Southey has nowhere ventured directly to expreſs that treaſon againſt the poetical ſovereigns, of which we are inclined to accuſe him; but his diſaffection, we think, is ſufficiently proved by his whole ſtyle and behaviour:—he honours his great predeceſſors neither in word nor in deed; and not only withholds from them that tri-

bute of applauſe to which they are legally entitled, but ſedulouſly avoids all imitation of their manner; and declines, upon any occaſion, to be influenced by their example. He will neither wear their livery, in ſhort, nor ſubmit to their commands; and though he does not ſay any thing openly in their diſparagement, he evidently treats their authority with contempt, and indicates his deſire of ſeducing his readers from their allegiance, by ſilently ſetting up a new object of veneration, which does not reſemble them in any one of its lineaments. All this we are inclined to ſet down to the ſcore of his ambition; and the injury which it is calculated to do him, we really believe to be formidable. If we muſt renounce our faith in the old oracles of poetical wiſdom before we can be initiated into the inſpiration of her new apoſtles —if we muſt abjure all our claſſical prejudices, and ceaſe to admire Virgil, and Pope, and Racine, before we can reliſh the beauties of Mr Southey, it is eaſy to perceive that Mr Southey's beauties are in ſome hazard of being neglected, and that it would have been wiſer in him to have allied himſelf to a party ſo reſpectably eſtabliſhed, than to have ſet himſelf up in oppoſition to it.

If we were to inſtitute any compariſon between the qualifications by which Mr Southey has aimed at diſtinction, and thoſe by which his predeceſſors have attained it, we might be accuſed perhaps of taking an unfair advantage of exiſting prejudices, and endeavouring to reſiſt improvement, by giving it the name of innovation. In matters of taſte, however, we conceive that there are no diſcoveries to be made, any more than in matters of morality. The end of poetry is to pleaſe; and men cannot be miſtaken as to what has actually given them pleaſure. Accidental aſſociations, indeed, may impoſe upon them for a ſeaſon, and lead them to aſcribe to the genius of the poet an emotion which was really excited by the circumſtances in which they peruſed him: but this illuſion can never be of long duration; and the emotions which he continues to excite under every variation of circumſtances, the feelings which he commands among every claſs of his readers, and continues to impreſs upon every ſucceſſive generation, can only be referred to that intrinſic merit, of which they afford indeed the ſole and ultimate criterion.

The ancient and uninterrupted poſſeſſion of the great inheritors of poetical reputation, muſt be admitted therefore as the cleareſt evidence of their right, and renders it the duty of every new claimant to contend with them as lawful competitors, inſtead of ſeeking to ſupplant them as uſurpers. It may ſtill be aſſerted, indeed, that though they may retain what they have poſſeſſed, they cannot prevent the farther accumulation of their ſucceſſors; that new

new ſources of poetical beauty may be diſcovered, which may lower the value of the old; and that untrodden regions may ſtill be explored in that vaſt domain, ſufficiently ſplendid and fertile to become the ſeat of a legitimate and independent empire. We have already ſaid, however, that we have no faith in ſuch diſcoveries; the elements of poetical intereſt are neceſſarily obvious and univerſal—they are within and about all men; and the topics by which they are ſuggeſted are proved to have been the ſame in every age, and every country of the world. Poetry, as we have formerly hinted, is in this reſpect indeed very nearly upon a footing with morality. In ſubſtance, it is the ſame every where; and while its perfection never fails to call forth emotions of the warmeſt admiration, it is recognized by all mankind as the aſſemblage of thoſe known qualities in which excellence had been univerſally held to conſiſt. We ſhould certainly look with compaſſion or contempt on any man who ſhould pretend to have diſcovered a new way to be virtuous; and who, in purſuit of ſupreme moral excellence, ſhould affect to put no value upon the vulgar elements of juſtice, generoſity, or benevolence; but to reſt his pretenſions upon ſome peculiar moralities of his own invention, ſuch as ordering his ſervants never to deny him, educating boys without the uſe of birch, or keeping an hoſpital for decayed poſt-horſes.

It will be readily admitted, that few things could be more unfortunate than ſuch an ambition of ſingularity; but ſuch, it appears to us, is in many particulars the ambition of Mr Southey and ſome of his aſſociates. They do not think any thing worth trying, in which others have previouſly ſucceeded; they will have none of the merits which have been already allowed to their predeceſſors; and as moſt of the natural beauties of conception and expreſſion have been defiled by previous exemplification, they have been forced to betake themſelves to a ſeries of ſtrange affectations, which, if not altogether unprecedented in themſelves, were never ſeen at leaſt before in compoſitions of ſo much genius. Of theſe reſources, we endeavoured to give ſome account in a former article. The moſt remarkable, we think, are, an affectation of infantine innocence and ſimplicity; an affectation of exceſſive refinement and preternatural enthuſiaſm; and an affectation of a certain perverſe ſingularity in learning, taſte, and opinions. Of ſome of theſe we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak again, perhaps, before we conclude this article. At preſent we can only repeat, that they appear to us to proceed altogether from an ill regulated ambition; and that we are perſuaded Mr Southey would write incomparably better, if it were poſſible to make him feel a little more reſpect for thoſe who have written before him with the moſt univerſal applauſe.

All this, however, would have been attended with leſs miſchief, if he had not been gifted with an unuſual copiouſneſs of diction, and facility of ſmooth verſification. If he had written with greater difficulty, he would have been forced to dwell longer on the thoughts and expreſſions which occurred to him; and as each of them, in proportion to the labour it coſt him, would have acquired an additional importance in his eyes, he would have perfected and finiſhed it more carefully, and endeavoured to compreſs his images and conceptions within more manageable limits. In this way, the compoſition would have acquired more brilliancy and compactneſs; and inſtead of that diffuſe and interminable redundancy by which his ſtyle is now chiefly diſtinguiſhed, we might have had a nervous and conciſe expreſſion, ſuitable to the dignity of his ſubjects, and the weight and gravity of many of his conceptions. An unlucky facility in rhyming has betrayed many poets into inexcuſable negligences; and we really fear that the great eaſineſs of that looſe and colloquial blank verſe, in which Mr Southey has choſen to compoſe, will one day be the ruin of him. It leads him on inſenſibly from line to line, and from page to page, without let or obſtruction, and carries him ſmoothly through every ſort of illuſtration or expoſition that occurs to him, without once admoniſhing him of the neceſſity of excluding much, in order to give effect to what is permitted to remain. As he has always plenty of good words, he never pauſes to look for exquiſite ones: and, rendered confident by the conſciouſneſs of his fluency, he ſets down the firſt view that preſents itſelf, of an image or ſentiment, without waiting to determine whether it be the moſt ſtriking or advantageous. If the idea does not come out quite ſtrong enough in the firſt ſix lines, he adds other ten, or twenty, or fifty, and goes on, accumulating circumſtances and conſequences to his conception, till he has put in every thing that occurs to him on the ſubject. All his pictures, accordingly, appear to be finiſhed in too *broad* a ſtyle, and are ſketched on a ſcale by far too large for the variety and importance of the objects. There is a faintneſs and feebleneſs in the colouring, reſulting from the exceſſive dilatation of the landſcape; and the effect is weakened by the diſtance at which the groups are placed from each other. If Mr Southey has not himſelf judgement and reſolution to correct this error, we really do not know how to aſſiſt him. To compoſe in a more difficult meaſure, would probably afford but a temporary check; for practice would ſoon renew the temptation of facility. If he were to write in the meaſure of Dryden or Pope, however, we conceive that he would be ſooner ſtruck with his own exuberance and prolixity.

The poem now before us contains many beautiful paſſages, and

and bears decisive testimony, we think, to the genius and amiable character of the author. But it is obviously too long,—and, independently of the faults resulting from the affectations we have already mentioned, its excessive length, together with a want of interest in the story, and a considerable failure in the delineation of character, will render it tedious, we are afraid, to ordinary readers, and communicate an air of heaviness to the whole composition.

The subject is the discovery of America by the Welch in the latter end of the 12th century, a transaction to which Mr Southey has transferred all the incidents and adventures which distinguished the subsequent expedition of Columbus and his heroic followers. In order, however, to prevent us from confounding his heroes with the gallant Spaniards, or from mistaking his work for a mere versification of Robertson's history, the author, besides changing the names, has thought proper to prefix a long narrative of the family feuds and personal adventures of Prince Madoc before he abandons his native country; and thus the poem comes forth 'in two parts;' one being entitled, 'Madoc in Wales;' and the other 'Madoc in Aztlan.' We shall now endeavour to lay before our readers a brief sketch of these twin epics.

Prince Madoc, though himself the most accomplished of poetical heroes, is represented, we think, as coming of a very bad breed. His father Owen, king of Gwyneth, or North Wales, after depriving of sight, and otherwise mutilating, a nephew who had been confided to his care, seems to have spent his time very laudably in fighting against the English, and breeding up his legitimate and illegitimate children in great jealousy and dislike of each other. Immediately upon his death, accordingly, they all go together by the ears. The eldest, who had a blemish in his face, and seems to have been a very soft-tempered youth, is set aside without a struggle; and the throne is usurped by Hoel, a prince of great accomplishments, but a bastard, and a little too fond of fighting and dominion. His pretensions are resisted by his brother David, who slays him in a bloody battle, and assumes the sovereignty, to the terror and affliction of his surviving brethren. Prince Madoc, who seems to have been feasting and visiting among his friends at the crisis of these dissensions, sets off post, as soon as he hears of Hoel's usurpation, to mediate between his brothers; but does not arrive till the day after the battle, when he buries the fallen, and, not caring to appear before the victor, seeks shelter in the cottage of the cousin whom his father had deprived of sight. Here he contracts an intimate friendship with a son of the old gentleman; and, walking out with him one fine evening to the beach, they are both struck with the very natural and obvious idea of following the setting sun into another region; and forthwith determine to undertake a voyage of discovery to the West. How the prince

ſettles matters with his brothers, we are not informed; but he takes his departure, in very good ſtyle, with two ſhips well manned and furniſhed at all points.

His voyage is the very prototype of that of Columbus. His men mutiny from terror and impatience, and he urges them on, with promiſes and threats. A ſtorm drives them forward againſt their will, and he reaches the coaſt at length, and gains the confidence of one of the natives, by whom he is guided to an inland ſettlement, and received with great honour by a queen and her people. He then engages to deliver this tribe from a bloody tribute impoſed upon them by their conquerors; and, after defeating the king of Aztlan and his people, enters into an alliance with him, and eſtabliſhes his colony in good order in a ſnug valley. He then takes ſhip and ſets out for Wales again, to recruit for his new ſettlement; and finding his way back with marvellous accuracy, without card or compaſs, lands at the palace-ſtairs of Aberfraw, juſt in time to aſſiſt at the marriage-feaſt of his brother David. This gracious ſovereign, he finds, has employed himſelf, during his abſence, in maſſacring another of his brethren, and hunting down the remainder; one of whom he keeps in chains, and has ſet a price upon the head of another. He has alſo concluded a peace with England, and married a daughter of the Saxon monarch. Madoc being put a little out of humour at all theſe irregularities, behaves at firſt a little rudely to the bride, and chides his Majeſty ſomewhat too freely. A few cups of mead, however, ſoon reconcile all differences; and he becomes quite ſocial, and narrates the whole hiſtory of his voyage, and his exploits among the Hoamen and Aztecas. After this, he ſeems to go about feaſting and carouzing with his old friends in different parts of the country; and the whole remainder of the firſt part, or 'Madoc in Wales,' conſiſts of the miſcellaneous and incidental occurrences which befal him in this courſe of viſits. No one of theſe can be ſaid to have any connexion with another, or to help forward the action of the main ſtory; but all are evidently introduced for the purpoſe of diſplaying the poet's powers of deſcription, or his intimate acquaintance with Cimbric antiquity. Thus he goes acroſs the country to viſit Cyveilioc, an hoſpitable old gentleman of his acquaintance, whom he finds harping to a large party at table; and this gives Mr Southey an opportunity to introduce an imitation of an old Welch drinking ſong. The prince is then carried by his hoſt to aſſiſt at a ſolemn meeting of bards on the top of a neighbouring mountain; and Mr Southey has again ſcope for antiquarian and poetical diſſertation. He then happens to call at the caſtle of Lord Rhys, which enables his hiſtorian to introduce a ſilly anecdote (faithfully detailed, it ſeems, from ſome ancient chronicle) about Goagan of Powys-land, who gets a horſe

horſe and three ſuits of clothes from the liberal chieftain. After this, he takes a trip to the iſland of Bardſey to ſay his prayers; upon occaſion of which, the reader is treated with a very fine deſcription of the cathedral ſervice. In his way home from this autumnal tour, Madoc goes a little out of his road to take a peep of the cottage in which he had taken ſhelter after David's victory, and finds it occupied by a fair woman and a fine boy, whom he luckily diſcovers to be the miſtreſs and child of his unfortunate brother Hoel, and to whom he offers an aſylum in his American kingdom, which is joyfully accepted. As he is journeying ſlowly home with his newly diſcovered relations, he finds a Saxon biſhop in the very act of excommunicating his friend Cyveilioc, for having refuſed to take part in a cruſade which the worthy prelate had thought proper to patronize. A conſiderable ſquabble enſues; and Madoc, having diſcovered that the zealous eccleſiaſtic had it alſo in view that very night to dig up the bones of old king Owen, and remove them to a leſs ſanctified repoſitory, hides himſelf in the church; and, burſting in upon the monks in the midſt of their ſacrilegious labour, fairly bullies them out of their deſign, takes up the bones himſelf, and packing them with a large quantity of fine linen in a box, ſends them aboard ſhip, to take their paſſage along with him to America. On his return to Aberfraw, he has again ſome warm expoſtulations with David. Meantime, the emigrants flock to him in great numbers, and, among the reſt, a damſel in the diſguiſe of a boy; and at length the ſix ſhips being fully victualled and manned, the whole party, with abundance of prayers and tears, take an eternal farewell of their native land, and ſet ſail with a favourable breeze for America.

This concludes the firſt part, which, except in the narrative delivered by Madoc on his arrival, has no more reference to the diſcovery or conqueſt of America, than to that of Hinduſtan; and is indeed ſo totally unconnected with the Tranſatlantic exploits of the hero, that Mr Southey has found it neceſſary to ſeparate it by a different title and deſcription. The ſecond part conducts Prince Madoc in ſafety to his colony, with the buſy proſperity of which he is not a little delighted, till he learns that the prieſts of Aztlan, being grievouſly offended at the remiſſion of human ſacrifices required of them by the conqueror, had been exerting themſelves, in his abſence, to excite diſlike and ſuſpicion of the ſtrangers in their king's mind, and had ſucceeded in alienating the greater part of the people from their attachment to them. Even the ſubjects of the friendly queen had been ſhaken in their affection, by the arts of their holy men, who complained that their god was thirſty for blood, and could not ſubmit to be famiſhed any longer. Madoc ſets him-

ſelf valiantly againſt theſe ſymptoms of rebellion; and, when he arrives to remonſtrate with his allies, is aſſailed by the chief prieſt and the god himſelf, who makes his appearance in the form of an enormous ſnake. The Britiſh warrior, however, cuts down the prieſt with his cutlaſs, and chaſes the god into his den with a burning ſtick. He then pelts the poor deity to death with large ſtones; and, after roaſting him before the faces of his affrighted worſhippers, he converts them all to Chriſtianity, by an authoritative ſermon of fifty verſes, and baptizes them forthwith in the river.

This proceeding gives no ſmall offence, as may be imagined, to the holy brotherhood of Aztlan, who ſend two of their choſen warriors to try and catch one of the ſtrangers for a ſacrifice to their offended deity. By the greateſt piece of good luck, theſe ſavages pick up Madoc's nephew, the infant ſon of Hoel, and ſcamper off with him before the face of his uncle, who is ſuperintending the workmen employed in enlarging his new city. The Prince thoughtleſsly runs after them; but they keep the ſtart, and decoy him acroſs the mountain, to a place where an ambuſh of their countrymen had been ſtationed. Poor Madoc falls unarmed into their hands, and is carried in bonds to their city, in the rear of little Hoel. The child is ſhut up in a cavern, to die of hunger, in honour of ſome water god; and the Prince, after being ſentenced to the altar, is tied to a ſtake, and obliged to maintain a combat with the choice warriors of the city. By ſtrength and dexterity, he diſcomfits and ſlays his firſt antagoniſt; and is engaged in dire hoſtility with the ſecond, when tidings are received, that the Welchmen are in full march to the city to reſcue their leader, and that all the warriors muſt turn out to oppoſe them. Inſtead of deſpatching Madoc by the hands of the prieſts, they content themſelves with tying him neck and heel, and laying him up behind the altar, where he is diſcovered by a tender-hearted prieſteſs, who cuts his cords aſunder, and reſtores him to liberty. The ſame compaſſionate damſel alſo contrives to deliver young Hoel out of his dungeon, and ſends him home, under Madoc's charge, to his mother.

The partizans of the ſnake god, ſeeing all the men of the new ſettlement engaged in battle at Aztlan, think this a good opportunity to carry off the women; and deſcend into the valley with this gallant and laudable intention. The ladies, however, are exceedingly valiant in defence of their honour; and, after hamſtringing the chief, and mortally wounding him, repulſe the invaders, and remain conquerors in their manſions. Madoc, on his return, finds dead bodies ſtrewed all over the valley, and expreſſes his approbation and ſurpriſe at the proweſs of his ſiſter

and

and her amazons. He then arms himself, and returns to the battle, where, after an obstinate contest, his followers at length drive their enemies before them, and take possession of the city of Aztlan.

The vanquished retreat to Patamba, another city on the opposite side of the lake, from which, after a certain interval, they prepare to invade the strangers with a vast fleet of canoes. Madoc, however, in the mean time, had taken care to get twelve of his brigantines taken to pieces, and brought overland to his new metropolis. They are put together again in the lake; and, with the help of a stiff breeze, run down and demolish the whole small craft of the natives, who are scattered upon the water like leaves in the pools of autumn. Notwithstanding all these reverses of fortune, the bigotry of the priests, and the savage valour of the warriors, disdain all composition with the victor; and they are preparing for another attack by land, when, on the eve of one of their great festivals, a neighbouring mountain suddenly blazes out into a volcano; vast deluges of lava desolate the country; and a mighty earthquake heaves up the waters of the lake, and sweeps away Patamba, with nine tenths of its inhabitants. Madoc generously employs his gallies to save the drowning remnants of his opponents, and even offers the king, who was among the survivors, a temporary asylum in his ancient palace of Aztlan. The high-minded monarch, however, cannot be brought to accept of such an accommodation: he rather chooses to take the advice of a certain bird in his mountain retreat, which he fancies calls upon him to depart. In obedience to this respectable counsellor, he assembles the wreck of his subjects, and declares his resolution to migrate to a distant region with such of his followers as may be inclined to adhere to him; Madoc being willing to grant protection and assistance to such as may choose to remain. The young and the valiant—all but one, who prefers killing himself—follow their sovereign to the westward, where they found the kingdom of Mexico; but the pacific part of the population remain with Madoc, who incorporates them with his own people, and thus becomes the founder of a mighty dynasty.

Such, with the exception of a few episodes, is the story of Madoc, a poem in two parts, and thirty-five sections, which disdains the 'degraded title of Epic,' and pretends not to be 'constructed according to the rules of Aristotle!'

The faults of the fable and characters are many and obvious. The adventures of Madoc in Wales have little interest or coherence in themselves, and bear no relation whatsoever to his exploits among the savages. The European story, moreover, is not only quite unconnected with the American one, but it is unfinished and imperfect.

perfect. After attempting to intereſt us, for eighteen ſections, in the fortunes of Owen's children, Mr Southey ſnatches us away from them, juſt as their deſtiny appears to be approaching to a criſis;—one of the captive brethren has newly broken out of David's dungeon, and a picturesque perſonage of a nephew, who walks upon the moonlight beach, with a boat on his back, and an oar in his hand, has vowed to drive him from the throne of his fathers. The Saxon princeſs too, ſeems very much in the humour for elopement, and the biſhop in no ſmall danger of lapidation. It is rather injudicious in the author, we think, after having compelled his reader to ſtudy the complicated politics of this unhappy family, to drop the curtain upon them, at the very time when their ſtory begins to be intereſting and eaſily underſtood.

There is ſcarcely any diſcrimination of character in all this part of the poem; every one we hear of is a warlike chieftain, more or leſs generous or ferocious; and the incidents, being all confined to high life, have in them ſo little to characterize a race of Celtic mountaineers, that, were it not for the occaſional introduction of harps and bards, and names full of *y*'s and *w*'s, we ſhould be apt to forget that the ſcene was laid in the receſſes of North Wales, and to ſuſpect that the author had verſified the hiſtory of the Heptarchy, or a few chapters of the Wars of York and Lancaſter, as a prelude to his legend of the diſcovery of America. Madoc himſelf has the vulgar and inexpiable fault of poetical heroes, that of being too perfect;—he is more pious than the pious Æneas himſelf, and conſiderably more correct in his deportment to the ladies. He ſeems to be quite invulnerable indeed to the ſhafts of Cupid; and teſtifies no ſort of amorous propenſities either towards the ruddy damſels of Wales, or the olive princeſſes of America. In ſhort, he is as ſober, prudent, reſolute, able-bodied, and fortunate a perſon, as any poet could wiſh to have the management of: he ſets about all his undertakings like a man who knows perfectly that he can accompliſh them, and never fails to get through them, without much diſcompoſure to himſelf or the reader. There is a baſtard couſin of his, of the name of Cadwallon, of whom we had ſome hope, at the outſet, that he might redeem this monotony of Cimbric valour; but, though he begins with ſome indications of a peremptory and decided character, he very ſoon falls into the ranks of his countrymen, and ſinks into the faithful Achates of his leader. The American perſonages are ſomewhat more varied and diſcriminated, though there is ſcarcely any attempt at the delineation of individual character—that ideal portrait painting, which gives ſo ſtrong an impreſſion of reality. The pictures are almoſt all marked only with the general attributes

butes of the claſs, not with the peculiar features of the individual;—there are gloomy bigots, and ferocious warriors, and patriotic ſovereigns, and grateful adherents, arrayed, ſkilfully enough, in the *coſtume* of their country, but not introduced as real perſons to our imagination.

Of Mr Southey's ſkill or judgment in the conduct of the ſtory, we are afraid the reader will receive a very unfavourable impreſſion from the peruſal of its opening. Madoc landing at Aberfraw in the dark, is met on the beach by Urien, his foſter-father; and, after recognizing and kiſſing him, this is the dialogue that paſſes between them—

'My ſiſter? quoth the prince.... Oh, ſhe and I
Have wept together, Madoc, for thy loſs,..
That long and cruel abſence!...
And David, and our brethren? cried the prince,
As they moved on..... But then old Urien's lips
Were ſlow at anſwer; and he ſpake, and pauſed...
More blood, quoth Madoc, yet! hath David's fear
Forced him to ſtill more cruelty? Alas...
Woe for the houſe of Owen!
Evil ſtars,
Replied the old man, ruled o'er thy brethren's birth.
From Dolwyddelan driven, his peaceful home,
Poor Yorwerth ſought the church's ſanctuary;
The murderer followed!.. Madoc, need I ſay
Who ſent the ſword?... Llewelyn, his brave boy,
Where wanders he? in this his rightful realm,
Houſeleſs and hunted! richly would the king
Gift the red hand that rid him of that fear!
Ririd, an outlawed fugitive, as yet
Eludes his brother's fury; Rodri lives,
A priſoner he,.. I know not in what fit
Of natural mercy, from the ſlaughter ſpared.' p. 4. 5.

Now, conſidering, in the *firſt* place, that the ſtory of King Owen's ſons is known, if it be known at all, only to a few Welch antiquaries; and, in the *ſecond* place, that Llewelyn, Ririd, and Rodri, have ſcarcely twenty lines apiece aſſigned to them in the ſubſequent part of the poem, it does appear to us, that nothing could be more injudicious, than thus to perplex and terrify the reader with this catalogue of diſſonant names, and alluſions which he could not poſſibly underſtand.

Though this converſation muſt be extremely diſtreſſing to the inexperienced reader, it was probably ſufficiently natural between the prince and his foſter father. The ſame apology, however, we fear, cannot be made for the firſt dialogue that is recorded between

between him and his royal brother. After the queen has been preſented to her adventurous kinſman, Madoc ſays,

'Enough of ſorrow hath our royal houſe
Known in the field of battles,.. yet we reaped
The harveſt of renown.
Aye,.. many a day,
David replied, together have we led
The onſet!.. Doſt thou not remember, brother,
How, in that hot and unexpected charge
On Keiriog's bank, we gave the enemy
Their welcoming?
And Berwyn's after-ſtrife!
Quoth Madoc, as the memory kindled him:
The fool that day, who in his maſque attire
Sported before King Henry, wiſhed in vain
Fitlier habiliments of javelin proof!' &c.
'That, exclaimed the king,
That was a day indeed, that I may ſtill
Proudly remember, proved as I have been
In conflicts of ſuch perilous aſſay.
That Saxon combat ſeemed like woman's war,
When with the traitor Hoel I did wage
The deadly battle; then was I in truth
Put to the proof; no vantage-ground was there,
Nor famine, nor diſeaſe, nor ſtorms to aid.' p. 13. 14.

Now, this has not only the fault of the preceding extract, in afflicting the reader with proſaic alluſions to a variety of events which are altogether unknown and unintereſting; but it is, in ſubſtance, we think, an extremely unnatural diſcourſe to paſs between two brothers who had juſt met, after a ſeparation of ſome years, and the experience of many intereſting adventures. The outrage in which it terminates, is by no means ſo unnatural as the ſudden pacification of two ſuch hot-blooded chieftains.

With regard to the main ſtory, Mr Southey's radical blunder conſiſts in aſcribing to a Welch chieftain, of the 12th century, the diſcoveries and exploits of the Spaniards 300 years after. He confeſſes fairly, that all the ſcenery and manners, and almoſt all of the incidents of the ſecond part of his poem, are borrowed from the adventures of Columbus and Cortes; and with ſuch minute fidelity, indeed, are they copied, that, in many inſtances, the moſt careleſs reader muſt be ſtruck with the improbability of the narrative, and feel, that by making his hero a Welchman, Mr Southey has forfeited his claim to many of thoſe accompliſhments and ſucceſſes which could not have been denied him as a Spaniard.

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'The idea of undertaking a voyage of diſcovery, in the firſt place, is moſt unnaturally put into the brain of a young Celtic chieftain, whoſe whole time had been ſpent in family feuds and hoſtility againſt the Saxons. The accompliſhment of ſuch a voyage, without the uſe of the mariner's compaſs, is another glaring improbability, which would have been avoided, by following the guidance of authentic hiſtory; and the firm perſuaſion of ſucceſs and heroic perſeverance which were natural enough in a learned pilot and practiſed navigator, are transferred, with little judgment, to a fiery warrior, who had never been out of ſight of land before in his life. The incongruities thicken, however, when Mr Southey proceeds to make prince Madoc achieve all the exploits of Cortes in battle againſt the natives. He *might* have traverſed the Atlantic without compaſs; but we apprehend that he could not poſſibly have ſubdued millions of valiant ſavages without guns or horſes. The ſpearmen of Gwyneth and the bowyers of Dehewbarth, are but poor ſubſtitutes for the cavalry and muſketeers of Cortes; and no advantage of iron helmets and poliſhed ſwords can reconcile the imagination to the conſtant ſucceſs of a handful of men againſt myriads of armed antagoniſts as vigorous and fearleſs as themſelves. The Spaniards themſelves were indebted for their ſucceſs, not ſo much to the actual effect of their fire-arms and cavalry, as to the ſuperſtitious terror and aſtoniſhment, which the ſight of thoſe formidable engines produced on the minds of the natives. The warriors of Aztlan, however, could feel no awe nor amazement at the ſight of men, who puſhed with ſpears and warded with bucklers like their own, with whom they had an opportunity in every conteſt to meaſure their ſtrength and agility, and the ſatisfaction of finding it equal. By preferring Madoc to Cortes as his hero, Mr Southey, therefore, it appears to us, has not only forfeited that intereſt which the perſuaſion of authenticity will always lend even to a poetical narrative, but has increaſed the marvellous in his hero's performances to a degree from which the moſt careleſs reaſon muſt revolt; and converted what might have been admiration, into contemptuous incredulity.

In addition to the groſs improbabilities reſulting from dreſſing the Welch adventurer in the victories of the Spaniard, there are ſeveral of Mr Southey's fictions, which appear to us to exceed the juſt limits of 'pleaſing wonder.' The converſion of the Hoamen, with all their prieſts and their chief pontiff, to Chriſtianity, by a few imperious averments, unvouched by miracles, or any ſpecies of evidence, is among the boldeſt traits of this ſort which occur in the performance, and ſeems to us to be particularly incongruous to the mild and reaſonable character of the warlike apoſtle,

poſtle, who concludes his addreſs by informing his hearers, that if any of them heſitated to profeſs his complete converſion, he ſhould inſtantly be 'cut off from among the people.' The final cataſtrophe, brought about by the happy occurrence of an earthquake and volcanic eruption at the critical moment of a ſolemn feſtival and a projected invaſion, appears to us to be equally puerile and extravagant. We applaud Mr Southey, however, for having employed no preternatural agency in the explication of the different parts of his deſign. We have great doubt, whether, what is called machinery, be not at all times a blemiſh in a poem which aims at probability; and are decidedly of opinion that it ought not to be admitted into a work which treats of events within the limits of authentic hiſtory.

Theſe are all the obſervations which we think it neceſſary to make upon the general plan and conduct of the ſtory; but, in fact, it is not upon this that the merit or the fortune of a poem will uſually depend. If it contain many beautiful and pathetic paſſages, it cannot fail to pleaſe, although they ſhould not be very ſkilfully connected; and if the materials be ordinary or diſagreeable, no artifice of collocation can redeem the compound from cenſure. In this eſſential particular, we have much to blame and much to admire in the ample volume before us.

We have already remarked, that the poetry of Mr Southey was in many places characteriſed by an affectation of infantine ſimplicity and antique homelineſs, in which ſome perſons are ſaid to find wonderful refreſhment and delight. To ſuch readers many paſſages in this poem will afford the greateſt ſatisfaction; but as the taſte is not yet general, we can only venture to exhibit a few ſpecimens. The following introduction to a narrative will be allowed to be in a very perfect ſtyle of ſchool-day innocence:

'There were two brethren once, of kingly line,
The old man replied; they loved each other well,
And when the one was at his dying hour,
It then was comfort to him that he left
So dear a brother, who would duly pay
A father's duties to his orphan boy.
And ſure he loved the orphan; and the boy,
With all a child's ſincerity, loved him,
And learnt to call him father: ſo the years
Went on, till, when the orphan gained the age
Of manhood, to the throne his uncle came.
The young man claimed a fair inheritance,
His father's lands; and . . . mark what follows, prince!' p. 25–6.

This brief remonſtrance of the prince's mutinous crew, is alſo very artleſs and affecting—

'Their lives were dear they bade me know, and they
Many, and *I, the obſtinate,* but one.'

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The ſimplicity of the following paſſage, we doubt not, will be very acceptable to the gentle readers to whom we have ventured to recommend it.

'And now the Porter called Prince Madoc out,
To ſpeak with one, he ſaid, who from the land
Had ſought him, and required his private ear.
Madoc in the moonlight met him: in his hand
The ſtripling held an oar, and on his back,
Like a broad ſhield, the coracle was hung.
Uncle! he cried, and, with a guſh of tears,
Sprung to the glad embrace.
O my brave boy!
Llewelyn! my dear boy! with ſtifled voice,
And interrupted utterance, Madoc cried,
Llewelyn, come with me, and ſhare my fate!
No! by my God! the high-hearted youth exclaimed,
I am the rightful king of this poor land....
Go thou, and wiſely go; but I muſt ſtay,
That I may ſave my people. Tell me, Uncle,
The ſtory of thy fortunes; I can hear it
Here in this lonely iſle, and at this hour,
Securely.
Nay, quoth Madoc, tell me firſt,
Where are thy haunts and coverts, and what hope
Thou haſt to bear thee up? Why goeſt thou not
To Mathraval?' p. 134. 135.

The following table-talk about mead, may appear perhaps in too elevated a ſtyle; but we are perſuaded that the admirers of the foregoing paſſages will find it very touching and ſimple.

'And now Madoc, pouring forth
The ripe metheglin, to Erillyab gave
The horn of ſilver brim. Taſte, Queen and friend,
Said he, what from our father-land we bring,
The old beloved beverage. Sparingly
Drink, for it hath a ſtrength to ſtir the brain,
And trouble reaſon, if intemperate lips
Abuſe its potency. She took the horn,
And ſipt with wary wiſdom.... Canſt thou teach us
The art of this rare beverage? quoth the Queen,
Or is the gift reſerved for ye alone,
By the Great Spirit, who hath favoured ye
In all things above us?... The Chief replied,
All that we know of uſeful and of good
Ye alſo ſhall be taught.' p. 215. 216.

We conclude our ſpecimens of this liſping innocence with this pretty good-night of a brother to a ſiſter, which is almoſt as intereſting as the garden adieus of Romeo and Juliet.

'Not

'Not yet at reſt, my ſiſter! quoth the prince,
As at her dwelling door he ſaw the maid
Sit gazing on that lovely moonlight ſcene:...
To bed, Goervyl! Deareſt, what haſt thou
To keep thee wakeful here, at this late hour,
When even I ſhall bid a truce to thought,
And lay me down in peace?... Good night, Goervyl,
Dear ſiſter mine,.. my own dear mother's child!' p. 266.

Akin to this affectation of babyiſh gentleneſs, is the frequent introduction of low, antiquated, and vulgar words, upon ſerious occaſions. *Belike*, for inſtance, is a prodigious favourite with Mr Southey; inſomuch that it occurs, we believe, more than fifty times in the courſe of the poem. Nay, ſuch is his partiality to it, that he even advances it, on ſome occaſions, out of its proper rank of an adverb, into the place of an adjective, as '*our food belike to fail.*' In the ſame taſte he ſays of a ſpeech which Madoc addreſſed to the king of Aztlan, that '*he let it work.*' The arms of a deceaſed chieftain are elegantly called his '*death-doers.*' The ſpokeſman of the prieſts is termed 'their *mouth-piece:*' and another, who had been faſting in a wood, is ſaid to be

'Emaciate like ſome bare *anatomy.*'

Inſtead of ſaying our inferior numbers, Mr Southey chuſes to make a warrior expreſs his fear, that the multitude of the ſavages may

'Dwindle our *all-too-few.*'

In another place, a voice is heard ſuddenly in the temple,

——'*and craſh with that*
The image fell!'

Finally, we are told of a warrior, whoſe ſword,

——'ſlivering downward,
Left the *cheek-flap* dangling.'

And of another, who

——'donned
A gipion, quilted cloſe of goſſampine.'

Beſides theſe impreſſive combinations of ſimple terms, there are many ſingle words, which we ſuſpect Mr Southey to have lent, from the ſtorehouſe of his own invention, to the exhauſted treaſury of the Engliſh language. It is a common practice with him to compare the adverb as if it were an adjective;—thus we have 'fitlier,' 'fierclier,' and 'diſtinctlier;' to which may be added, perhaps, though an innovation of a different kind, 'booner,' and 'beautifulleſt.' In the ſame taſte, we have 'in very deed,' and 'in very heaven;' and hear of an '*acquainted* ſword,' the '*foining*' of a ſerpent, and the '*fruſh*' of rocks. The moſt objectionable of all theſe, however, in our apprehenſion, are the methodiſtical and affected appellations by which the Deity is generally

nerally designated. He is called 'The Great For-Ever-One.'—'The For-Ever-One—The Every-Where—The For-Ever—The Beloved One;' and a great variety of familiar and mystical names, of a similar import and construction.

The next great characteristic of Mr Southey's poetry, after its infantine simplicity, is the energy, wildness, enthusiasm, and singularity of the conceptions with which the author has laboured to enliven it. In pursuit of this obscure idea of elevation and originality, he has often wandered, it appears to us, into the regions of bombast and obscurity. Is it possible for any thing to be more unnatural and offensive than the following raving of a man describing a storm, which he had weathered at sea some years before?

——'Were the elements
Confounded in perpetual conflict here,
Sea, air, and heaven? Or were we perishing
Where at their source the floods, for ever thus,
Beneath the nearer influence of the Moon
Laboured in these mad workings? Did the waters
Here in their utmost circle meet the void,
The verge and brink of Chaos? or this earth, . .
Was it indeed a living thing, . . its breath
The ebb and flow of Ocean? and had we
Reached the storm-rampart of its sanctuary,
The insuperable boundary, raised to guard
Its mysteries from the eye of man profane?' p. 44.

We trace the same impotent attempt at extraordinary elevation and energy, in the prince's account of the first suggestion of his adventurous voyage. He and Cadwallon were sitting idly on the shore one fine evening, looking at the sun as he descended. Suddenly,

'Prince, quoth Cadwallon, thou hast rode the waves
In triumph, when the invaders felt thine arm.
Oh what a nobler conquest might be won
There, . . upon that wide field! . . What meanest thou?
I cried . . . . That yonder waters are not spread
A boundless waste, a bourn impassable, . .
That man should rule the elements . . . Oh that my soul
Could seize the wings of morning! soon would I
Behold that other world, where yonder sun
Speeds now, to dawn in glory!
As he spake,
Conviction came upon my startled mind,
Like lightning on the midnight traveller.
I caught his hand; . . Kinsman, and guide, and friend,
Yea, let us go together! Down we sate,
Full of the vision, on the echoing shore.' p. 33-4.

There is the same absurdity and failure of effect in the following speech, which seems to have been intended as a model of insane and terrible energy.

'Before this generation, and before
These ancient forests,.. yea, before yon lake
Was hollowed out, or one snow-feather fell
On yonder mountain-top, now never bare,..
Before these things I was,.. where, or from whence,
I know not,.. who can tell? But then I was,
And in the shadow of the Spirit stood;
And I beheld the Spirit, and in him
Saw all things, even as they were to be;
And I held commune with him, not of words,
But thought with thought. Then was it given me
That I should chuse my station when my hour
Of mortal birth was come,.. hunter, or chief,
Or to be mightiest in the work of war,
Or in the shadow of the Spirit live,
And he in me. According to my choice,
For ever overshadowed by his power,
I walk among mankind. At times I feel not
The burthen of his presence; then am I
As other men; but when the season comes,
Or if I seek the visitation, then
He fills me, and my soul is carried on,
And then do I forelive the race of men,
So that the things that will be, are to me
Past.' p. 210, 211.

We add but one other brief instance of this unfortunate passion for emphasis and originality. He is talking of certain ravenous fish, and is pleased to assure us, that 'tho' in blue ocean seen,' they nevertheless appeared—

'Blue darkly, deeply beautifully blue!'

We do not know whether it be from any similar persuasion of their magnificence, or from his great partiality to authentic history, that Mr Southey has borrowed from ancient chronicles so many silly anecdotes and barbarous names of Welch kings and chieftains. When Madoc is feasting with Rhys, a messenger arrives from the King, who is introduced, and delivers himself as follows:

'Now the messenger
Entered the hall; Goagan of Powys-land,
He of Caer-Einion was it, who was charged
From Gwyneth to Deheubarth; a brave man,
Of copious speech. He told the royal son
Of Gryffidd, the descendant of the line
Of Rhys-ab-Tudyr-mawr, that he came there

From

From David, ſon of Owen, of the ſtock
Of kingly Cynan. I am ſent, ſaid he,
With friendly greeting; and as I receive
Welcome and honour, ſo, in David's name,
Am I to thank the Lord of Dinevawr.' p. 124.

Now, the whole buſineſs of this eloquent and high-born perſonage, is to aſk a horſe and a ſuit of clothes, and ten marks from the Lord Rhys; which having received, Goagan of Powys-land takes his departure, and moleſts prince Madoc and the reader no more.

Mr Southey goes profeſſedly out of his way, to relate this delectable anecdote; and, in the ſame ſpirit, he allows his hero to ride alone by the ſhore, while he pauſes to inform the reader, that

——'many a prince,
Warned by the viſitation, ſought and gained
A ſaintly crown, Tyneio, Merini,
Boda and Brenda and Aelgyvarch,
Gwynon and Celynin and Gwynodyl.' p. 129.

There is great choice of paſſages equally muſical and erudite; but we imagine our readers have enough of them.

The laſt great fault we would enumerate among the peculiarities of Mr Southey's poetry, is the extreme diffuſeneſs and prolixity of his common ſtyle of compoſition. He is always incumbered with the ſuperfluity of his language; he is never ſuccinct for ſpeed, nor diveſted for great exertion; his drapery is always trailing in great folds upon the ground; and though in a fine attidude, or when the wind waves it aloft, there is much gracefulneſs and majeſty in the redundancy, yet it more frequently entangles his footſteps, and retards his progreſs, and often drags behind in unſeemly and unprofitable volumes. The very nature of this defect renders it difficult to exemplify it by an extract: but the reader who wiſhes to underſtand what we moſt object to, may turn to the ſquabble with the Saxon prelate, beginning at p. 153; the conference with the Pabas at p. 85; Cadwallon's whole narrative p. 194; the lake fight, the whole adventure with the ſnake god, and a conſiderable part of the battles and religious ceremonies at Aztlan. We add one paſſage which has ſcarcely any other defect but this exceſſive wordineſs and dilatation.

'Fair blew the winds, and ſafely did the waves
Bear that beloved charge. It were a tale
Would rouſe adventurous courage in a boy,
Making him long to be a mariner,
That he might rove the main, if I ſhould tell
How pleaſantly, for many a ſummer-day,
Over the ſunny ſea, with wind at will,

Prince Madoc ſailed; and of thoſe happy iſles,
Which had he ſeen ere that ordained ſtorm
Drove ſouthward his ſlope courſe, there he had pitched
His tent, and bleſt his lot that it had fallen
In land ſo fair; and human blood had reeked
Daily on Aztlan's curſed altars ſtill.
But other doom was his, more arduous toil
Yet to achieve, worſe danger to endure,
Worſe evil to be quelled, and higher good,
That paſſes not away, educed from ill;
Whereof all unforeſeeing, yet for all
Of ready heart, he over ocean ſails,
Wafted by gentle winds o'er gentle waves,
As if the elements combined to ſerve
The perfect prince, by God and man beloved.
And now how joyfully he views the land,
Skirting, like morning clouds, the duſky ſea;
With what a ſearching eye recals to mind
Foreland, and creek, and cape; how happy now
Up the great river bends at laſt his way.' p. 187–9.

Before taking our leave of the blemiſhes of this performance, we muſt obſerve, that there are occaſional inſtances of negligence in the ſtructure of the verſe, for which the eaſineſs of the meaſure and Mr Southey's indiſputable facility, leave him without apology. Such lines as 'When the bowyers of Deheubarth plied ſo well,' or 'And caught the hem of her garment and exclaimed,' are really inexcuſable. We cannot help proteſting alſo againſt the unneceſſary profuſion of ineffable names with which Mr Southey has defaced his poem. We cannot indeed exactly agree with Boileau, that

—'un ſeul nom barbare
Rend un poëme entièr ou ridicule ou bizarre.'

But we really compaſſionate the unlearned reader, who has to encounter ſuch words as Caonocotzin, Tezcalipoca, Coatlantana, Tezozomoc, Yuhidthiton, Nahuaztin, &c. in every page. After all, however, Mr Southey aſſures us that he has been very merciful and indulgent in this reſpect, ſince he had good authority for filling his page with a ſucceſſion of ſuch immeaſurable appellatives as *Tacotchcalcadlyacapan.*

If this poem be juſtly chargeable with the faults which we have ventured to aſcribe to it, it certainly cannot be ranked among productions of the firſt rate excellence: at the ſame time, its beauties are unqueſtionably great and numerous; and we turn with pleaſure to the taſk of pointing out a few of them to our readers' admiration.

The verſification is for the moſt part extremely rich and melodious:

dious; and although its general character be ſweetneſs and copiouſneſs, there are many paſſages which may aſpire to the praiſe of magnificence and grandeur. Mr Southey's *forte*, we think, is in the deſcription of external nature: he has obſerved all its appearances with the keen eye of a poet, and has put into his deſcription ſo ſtrong and ſo delicate an expreſſion of aſſociated emotions, as infallibly to awaken in the mind of his readers the ſentiment with which the ſcene had affected his own. There are ſome fine touches of this ſort in Madoc's account of his firſt voyage; but the narrative is ſo diffuſe and ſo cloſely connected, that we could not poſſibly do it juſtice in an extract. The following deſcription of an autumnal evening, however, and of the ſenſations it is calculated to excite in a lonely traveller, will juſtify in part the opinion we have ventured to expreſs.

—'Eve came on.
The dry leaves ruſtled to the wind, and fell
And floated on the ſtream; there was no voice,
Save of the mournful rooks, that overhead
Winged their long line; for fragrance of ſweet flowers,
Only the odour of the autumnal leaves; . .
All ſights and ſounds of ſadneſs: and the place
To that deſpondent mood was miniſtrant; . .
Among the hills of Gwyneth, and its wilds
And mountain glens, perforce he cheriſhed ſtill
The hope of mountain liberty; they braced
And knit the heart and arm of hardihood; . .
But here, in theſe green meads, by theſe low ſlopes
And hanging groves, attempered to the ſcene,
His ſpirit yielded.' p. 119.

To this we gladly ſubjoin the picture of a bright day in the ſame enchanting ſeaſon.

'There was not, on that day, a ſpeck to ſtain
The azure heaven; the bleſſed ſun, alone,
In unapproachable divinity,
Careered, rejoicing in his fields of light.
How beautiful beneath the bright blue ſky,
The billows heave! one glowing green expanſe,
Save where along the bending line of ſhore
Such hue is thrown, as when the peacock's neck
Aſſumes its proudeſt tint of amethyſt,
Embathed in emerald glory. All the flocks
Of ocean are abroad: like floating foam,
The ſea-gulls riſe and fall upon the waves;
With long protruded neck the cormorants
Wing their far flight aloft, and round and round
The plovers wheel, and give their note of joy.
It was a day that ſent into the heart

A ſummer feeling: even the inſect ſwarms
From their dark nooks and coverts iſſued forth,
For one day of exiſtence more, and joy;
The ſolitary primroſe, on the bank,
Seemed now as though it had no cauſe to mourn
Its bleak autumnal birth; the rocks, and ſhores,
And everlaſting mountains, had put on
The ſmile of that glad ſunſhine, . . they partook
The univerſal bleſſing.' p. 129. 130.

To thoſe who are acquainted with the character of our mountain landſcape, the truth of the following deſcription will give the moſt exquiſite gratification.

—' A little way
He turned aſide, by natural impulſes
Moved, to behold Cadwallon's lonely hut.
That lonely dwelling ſtood among the hills,
By a grey mountain-ſtream; juſt elevate
Above the winter torrents did it ſtand,
Upon a craggy bank; an orchard ſlope
Aroſe behind, and joyous was the ſcene,
In early ſummer, when thoſe antic trees
Shone with their bluſhing bloſſoms, and the flax
Twinkled beneath the breeze its livelieſt green.
But, ſave the flax-field and that orchard ſlope,
All elſe was deſolate, and now all wore
One ſober hue; the narrow vale which wound
Among the hills, was grey with rocks, that peered
Above its ſhallow ſoil; the mountain ſide
Was with looſe ſtones beſtrewn, which, oftentimes
Sliding beneath the foot of ſtraggling goat,
Clattered adown the ſteep, or huger crags,
Which, when the coming froſt ſhould looſen them,
Would thunder down. All things aſſorted well
With that grey mountain hue; the low ſtone lines,
Which ſcarcely ſeemed to be the work of man,
The dwelling, rudely reared with ſtones unhewn,
The ſtubble flax, the crooked apple-trees,
Grey with their fleecy moſs and miſſeltoe,
The white-barked birch, now leafleſs, and the aſh,
Whoſe knotted roots were like the rifted rock,
Where they had forced their way. Adown the vale
Broken by ſtones, and o'er a ſtoney bed,
Rolled the loud mountain-ſtream.' p. 139. 140.

The following paſſage is in a different ſtyle of excellence: it is a complete and beautiful picture of the old cathedral ſervice.

' But the place
Was holy; . . the dead air, that underneath

Thoſe

Thoſe arches never felt the healthy ſun,
Nor the free motion of the elements,
Chilly and damp, infuſed aſſociate awe:
The ſacred odours of the incenſe ſtill
Floated; the daylight and the taper-flames
Commingled, dimming each, and each bedimmed;
And as the ſlow proceſſion paced along,
Still to their hymn, as if in ſymphony,
The regular foot-fall founded; ſwelling now,
Their voices in one chorus, loud and deep,
Rung o'er the echoing aiſle; and when it ceaſed,
The ſilence of that huge and ſacred pile
Came on the heart. What wonder if the Prince
Yielded his homage now? the influences
Of that ſweet autumn day made every ſenſe
Alive to every impulſe, . . and he ſtood
On his forefathers' duſt.' *p.* 132.

It would not be doing juſtice, either to Mr Southey's talents or his induſtry, if we were not to exhibit to the reader ſome of thoſe fine paſſages which he has formed upon the ancient lays or traditions of the Welch bards. The following deſcription, and ſong of young Caradoc, at the great bardic feſtival, where the aſpirants claimed admiſſion into that celebrated order, is marked, we think, with all the characters of genuine and fine poetry.

'Inclining on his harp,
He while his comrades in probation ſong
Approved their claim, ſtood hearkening, as it ſeemed,
And yet like unintelligible ſounds
He heard the ſymphony and voice attuned;
Even in ſuch feelings as, all undefined,
Come with the flow of waters to the ſoul,
Or with the motions of the moonlight ſky.
But when his bidding came, he at the call
Ariſing from the dreamy mood, advanced,
Threw back his mantle, and began the lay.

Where are the ſons of Gavran? where his tribe,
The faithful? following their beloved chief,
They the green iſlands of the ocean ſought.
Nor human tongue hath told, nor human ear,
Since from the ſilver ſhores they went their way,
Hath heard their fortunes. In his cryſtal ark,
Whither ſailed Merlin with his band of bards,
Old Merlin, maſter of the myſtic lore?
Belike his cryſtal ark, inſtinct with life,
Obedient to the mighty maſter, reached
The land of the departed; there, belike,
They in the clime of immortality,

Themſelves immortal, drink the gales of bliſs,
That o'er Flathinnis breathe eternal ſpring,
That blend whatever odours make the gale
Of evening ſweet, whatever melody
Charms the wood-traveller. In their high-roofed halls,
There, with the chiefs of other days, feel they
The mingled joy pervade them? . . Or beneath
The mid-ſea waters, did that cryſtal ark
Down to the ſecret depths of ocean plunge
Its fated crew? Dwell they in coral bowers
With mermaid loves, teaching their paramours
The ſongs that ſtir the ſea, or make the winds
Huſh, and the waves be ſtill? In fields of joy
Have they their home, where central fires maintain
Perpetual ſummer, where one emerald light
Through the green element for ever flows?' *p.* 112-13.

The following is an imitation of Prince Hoel's lay of love, which is finely introduced into one of the moſt affecting paſſages of the whole poem. It has a true lyric character, we think, and an air of genuine antiquity.

'I have harneſſed thee, my ſteed of ſhining grey,
And thou ſhalt bear me to the dear white walls.
I love the white walls by the verdant bank,
That glitter in the ſun, where Baſhfulneſs
Watches the ſilver ſea-mew ſail along.
I love the glittering dwelling, where we hear
The ever-ſounding waves; for there ſhe dwells,
The ſhapely maid, fair as the ocean ſpray,
Her cheek as lovely as the apple-flower,
Or evening's ſummer glow. I pine for her;
In crowded halls my ſpirit is with her;
Through the long ſleepleſs night I think on her;
And happineſs is gone, and health is loſt,
And fled the flush of youth, and I am pale
As the pale ocean on a ſunleſs morn.
I pine away for her, yet pity her,
That ſhe ſhould ſpurn a love ſo true as mine.' *p.* 144-5.

The ſong of the *Hirlas*, or drinking-horn, which was preſented to the valiant in battle, is rather too long for inſertion, and rather dull; but the deſcription of the *voluntary*, which the bard added to it, on the ſudden appearance of Madoc, is highly animated.

'Here ceaſed the ſong.
Then from the threſhold on the ruſh-ſtrewn floor
Madoc advanced. Cyveilioc's eye was now
To preſent forms awake, but, even as ſtill
He felt his harp-chords throb with dying ſounds,

The

The heat and ſtir and paſſion had not yet
Subſided in his ſoul. Again he ſtruck
The loud-toned harp. . . . Pour from the ſilver vaſe,
And brim the honourable horn, and bear
The draught of joy to Madoc, . . he who firſt
Explored the deſert ways of Ocean, firſt,
Through the wide waſte of ſea and ſky, held on
Undaunted, till upon another world,
The lord and conqueror of the elements,
He ſet his foot triumphant! Fill for him
The Hirlas! fill the honourable horn!
This is a happy hour, for Madoc treads
The hall of Mathraval; by every foe
Dreaded, by every friend beloved the beſt,
Madoc, the Briton Prince, the Ocean Lord,
Who never for injuſtice reared his arm.
Give him the Hirlas horn! fill, till the draught
Of joy ſhall quiver o'er the golden brim!
In happy hour the hero hath returned!
In happy hour the friend, the brother treads
Cyveilioc's floor!' *p.* 102-3.

Our limits will not allow us to make any farther extract from the European diviſion of the poem, though in point of compoſition we conſider it as preferable to the other. The following paſſage tranſports us at once into the divan of the ſavages. It is not in a very correct taſte we think, but is ſtriking, from the novelty of the *coſtume*, and the brilliancy of the deſcription.

'The Hoamen in their council-hall are met,
To hold the Feaſt of Souls; ſeat above ſeat,
Ranged round the circling theatre they ſit.
No light but from the central fire, whoſe ſmoke,
Slow paſſing through the over aperture,
Excludes the day, and fills the conic roof,
And hangs above them like a cloud. Around,
The ghaſtly bodies of their chiefs are hung,
Shrivelled, and parched by heat; the humbler dead
Lie on the floor, white bones, expoſed to view,
On deer, or elk-ſkin laid, or ſofter fur,
Or web, the work of many a mournful hour;
The loathlier forms of freſh mortality,
Swathed, and in decent tenderneſs concealed.
Beſide each body pious gifts are laid,
Mantle and belt and plumed coronal,
The bow he uſed in war, his drinking ſhell,
His arrows for the chaſe, the ſarbacan,
Through whoſe long tube the ſlender ſhaft, breath-driven,
Might pierce the winged game. Huſbands and wives,

Parents

Parents and children, there in death they lie;
The widowed and the parent and the child
Look on in silence. Not a sound is heard
But of the crackling brand, or mouldering fire,
Or when, amid yon pendant string of shells,
The slow wind wakes a shrill and feeble sound, . .
A sound of sorrow to the mind attuned
By sights of woe.' *p.* 228-9.

The next picture is of a more joyous and animated character, though the composition is still more loose and tawdry: it represents the procession which accompanies young Hoel to his destined sacrifice.

' Now from the rush-strewn temple they depart.
They place their smiling victim in a car,
Upon whose sides of pearly shell there played,
Shading and shifting still, the rainbow light.
On virgin shoulders is he borne aloft,
With dance before, and song and music round;
And thus they seek, in festival array,
The water-side. There lies the sacred bark,
All gay with gold, and garlanded with flowers:
The virgins with the joyous boy embark;
Ten boatmen urge them on; the priests behind
Follow, and all the long solemnity.
The lake is overspread with boats; the sun
Shines on the gilded prows, the feathery crowns,
The sparkling waves. Green islets float along,
Where high-born damsels, under jasmin bowers,
Raise the sweet voice, to which the echoing oars,
In modulated motion, rise and fall.
The moving multitude along the shore
Flows like a stream; bright shines the unclouded sky;
Heaven, earth, and waters wear one face of joy.
Young Hoel with delight beholds the pomp;
His heart throbs joyfully; and if he thinks
Upon his mother now, 'tis but to think
How beautiful a tale for her glad ear
He hath on his return. Meantime, the maids
Weave garlands for his head, and pour the song.
Oh, happy thou, whom early from the world
The Gods require!' &c. p. 294. 295.

We cannot make room for any part of the battles or sacrificial ceremonies, though they abound with striking imagery, and are pictured in strong colours. The following lines, which open one of the sections, would probably appear to greater advantage, if they did not bring to our recollection the more solemn and impressive

preſſive narrative of Robertſon, from which they are evidently borrowed:

'Merciful God! how horrible is night
Upon the plain of Aztlan! there the ſhout
Of battle, the barbarian yell, the bray
Of diſſonant inſtruments, the clang of arms,
The ſhriek of agony, the groan of death,
In one wild uproar and continuous din,
Shake the ſtill air; while, overhead, the moon,
Regardleſs of the ſtir of this low world,
Holds on her heavenly way. Still, unallayed
By ſlaughter, raged the battle, unrelaxed
By lengthened toil; anger ſupplying ſtill
Strength undiminiſhed, for the deſperate ſtrife.
And lo! where yonder, on the temple top,
Blazing aloft, the ſacrificial fire
Scene more accurſt and hideous than the war
Diſplays to all the vale; for whoſoe'er
That night the Aztecas could bear away,
Hoaman or Briton, thither was he borne;
And, as they ſtretched him on the ſtone of blood,
Did the huge trumpet of the God, with voice
Loud as the thunder-peal, and heard as far,
Proclaim the act of death, more viſible
Than in broad day-light, by thoſe midnight fires
Diſtinctlier ſeen. Sight, that with horror filled
The Cymry, and to mightier efforts rouſed.' p. 355. 356.

We gratify our readers with this figure of the guardian god of Aztlan:

'On a blue throne, which four huge ſilver ſnakes,
As if the keepers of the ſanctuary,
Circled, with ſtretching neck and fangs diſplay'd,
Mexitli ſate; another graven ſnake
Belted with ſcales of gold his monſter bulk.
Around the neck a loathſome collar hung,
Of human hearts; the face was maſked with gold;
His ſpecular eyes ſeemed fire; one hand upreared
A club, the other, as in battle, held
The ſhield; and over all, ſuſpended, hung
The banner of the nation. They beheld
In awe, and knelt before the Terrible God.' p. 277. 278.

The native tradition of his immaculate conception is curious, and very elegant, we think, for ſo rude a people.

——'Whence art thou,
O Son of Myſtery? From whence art thou,
Whoſe ſire thy mother knew not? She at eve
Walked in the temple court, and ſaw from heaven

A plume deſcend, as bright and beautiful,
As if ſome ſpirit had embodied there
The rainbow hues, or dipt it in the light
Of ſetting ſuns. To her it floated down;
She placed it in her boſom, to bedeck
The altar of the God; ſhe ſought it there;
Amazed, ſhe found it not; amazed, ſhe felt
Another life infuſed. . . From whence art thou,
O Son of Myſtery? From whence art thou,
Whoſe fire thy mother knew not?' p. 385.

The following invocation, after the conqueſt of Aztlan by the Britons, affords a fair ſpecimen of Mr Southey's powers of ſonorous amplification:

'Hark! from the towers of Aztlan how the ſhouts
Of clamorous joy re-ring! the rocks and hills
Take up the joyful ſound, and o'er the lake
Roll their ſlow echoes. . . Thou art beautiful,
Queen of the Valley! thou art beautiful!
Thy walls, like ſilver, ſparkle to the ſun,
Melodious wave thy groves, thy garden-ſweets
Enrich the pleaſant air, upon the lake
Lie the long ſhadows of thy towers, and high
In heaven thy temple-pyramids ariſe,
Upon whoſe ſummit now, far viſible
Againſt the clear blue ſky, the Croſs of Chriſt
Proclaims unto the nations round, the news
Of thy redemption. Thou art beautiful,
Aztlan! O City of the Cimbric Prince!
Long mayeſt thou flouriſh in thy beauty, long
Proſper beneath the righteous conqueror,
Who conquers to redeem! Long years of peace
And happineſs await thy Lord and thee,
Queen of the Valley!' p. 399. 400.

We would willingly give ſome extracts from the ſtory of Lincoya and Coatel, which contains many intereſting paſſages; but we have already exceeded our limits in the account we have given of this poem, and can only add, that it is well calculated to confirm our admiration of Mr Southey's genius and capacity, and our diſlike of thoſe hereſies by which ſo much of their merit is obſcured.

The book, we ought to add, is very beautifully printed by Ballantyne; and is indeed, in external appearance, one of the moſt elegant volumes that has lately iſſued from the Britiſh preſs.

ART.

M. Napier

ART. II. *A Tour in America in* 1798, 1799, *and* 1800: *Exhibiting Sketches of Society and Manners, and a particular Account of the American Syſtem of Agriculture, with its recent Improvements.* By Richard Parkinſon, late of Orangehill, near Baltimore. 2 vol. 8vo. pp. 735. London. Harding. 1805.

THE profeſſed object of this work is to undeceive thoſe who have been taught to conſider the continent of America, either as a place of refuge from poverty in their own country, or as a profitable ſcene of ſpeculation. The author belonged to the latter claſs; and his narrative is chiefly made up of details reſpecting his various diſappointments, and the ſimilar fates of others in his own ſituation. As a compoſition, his production is worth little. It has no pretenſions to method or arrangement, although it is divided into a multitude of ſections; and the ſtyle is as coarſe and vulgar as might be expected from a mere practical farmer—talking without any ceremony, and for the moſt part in ill humour, upon every thing that befel him or came in his way during his laſt leaſe. The weather, the land, roads, markets, landlord, parſon, juſtices, ſervants, and neighbours—all come in for a ſhare of his abuſe: and ſo cautiouſly is every topic of a conſolatory nature avoided, that we are left to conjecture how, in the midſt of all ſorts of calamity and vexation, he could either have paid his rent, or preſerved his reaſon. Such a perſon has only one mode of diſcuſſing whatever queſtions you propoſe to him—the method of aſſertion and inſtance. He ſuddenly comes down with a broad, poſitive, blundering affirmation, and backs it with 'the very thing that happened to himſelf,' or the ſtory of his neighbour ſuch a one, which, being *facts*, muſt be deciſive of the matter. There is, indeed, always abundance of inconſiſtency in the ſtatements of theſe lovers of plain fact; and it requires but a little attention to their ſtories, to refute them upon their own ground. But until this is done, or ſome other kind of remedy adminiſtered, they are abſolute maſters of the argument; and when they embody their converſations for public uſe, it is wonderful how implicitly they are followed by the multitude, always abhorrent of juſt theory or general principle, prone to the obſervation of inſulated occurrences, and unwilling, through timidity, to depart from particular examples, although often beguiled by indolence into the moſt dangerous applications of them.

Upon the practical part of the diſcuſſions which run through Mr Parkinſon's book, we are not much inclined to diſpute. We ſhould lament to ſee the land of the United States cleared and cultivated by Britiſh capital or induſtry, while our own waſtes, both in Europe and America, are left under heath

heath and foreſt. But we cannot bring ourſelves to apprehend any ſuch ſerious emigration or transference of wealth, while there remains at home, or in the colonies, employment both for men and ſtock—that is to ſay, while it continues the intereſt of the country to retain its population and wealth: and our fears upon this head have never been leſs conſiderable than during the peruſal of Mr Parkinſon's book—written to prove that there is no land in America worth cultivating, and no enjoyment of life to be procured. But, upon the ſpeculative view of the ſubject, we muſt venture to oppoſe our author with all his inſtances and anecdotes. It has hitherto been ſuppoſed, that the cauſe of the rapid increaſe of America in wealth and population, is the abundance of good land. Mr Parkinſon maintains, that, after travelling repeatedly over the moſt favoured parts of the continent, and partly viewing, partly trying the ſoil, as an experienced farmer, he has been unable to find any which would be deemed worth the trouble of touching in England;—that every appearance of poverty is to be met with in all parts of the country;—that the labour required to preſerve a wretched exiſtence in America, would procure the comforts of life any where elſe;—that the nature of the climate and ſoil offers unſurmountable obſtacles to the profitable employment of capital in agricultural ſpeculations;—and, in ſhort, that we have hitherto been ſtill more deceived in our ideas of America, than in the earlieſt deſcriptions of China. It is for the purpoſe of opening men's eyes upon this ſubject, by a narrative of his own adventures and obſervations, that Mr Parkinſon has compiled theſe volumes; and we muſt frankly acknowledge, that, after carefully perufing them, our opinions remain altogether the ſame as before. Through the whole recital, we can trace the effects of diſappointment, rendered inevitable by previous unreaſonable expectations; of the ſtrongeſt national prejudice—ſometimes riſing into perfect animoſity—foſtered, we ſuſpect, by a willingneſs to court the prevailing partialities of Engliſhmen, and diverſified by an occaſional appeal to the feelings which find favour within the circle of courts. A very curſory ſurvey of the work will ſuffice to ſhew how much our author's opinions have been tinged by theſe accidental peculiarities, and to evince that his ſtatements do not warrant the concluſions in ſupport of which they are brought forward.

Mr Parkinſon was a thorough bred Lincolnſhire farmer—accuſtomed from his infancy to the management of the fineſt cattle in the world—and, in general, to the practice of agriculture peculiar to the more refined ſtages of the art, and the wealthieſt period of ſociety. But he had 'the honour of being acquainted with

with Sir John Sinclair,' to whom General Waſhington had ſent over propoſals for letting his land to Britiſh farmers; he never doubted that an introduction from Sir John to the General and his rich ſoil, was equivalent to a 'real treaſure;' and, '*with all theſe encouragements,*' he 'ſpeculated to make a rapid fortune.' He pitched on a farm of twelve hundred acres, at twenty-two ſhillings an acre of rent; carried out his work on farming to ſell there; bought Phænomenon and Cardinal Puff, two famous race horſes, beſides various other blood horſes, and ſundry pigs and cows;—and having chartered a ſhip, and put all this live ſtock, together with his family on board, he thought he had 'a moſt favourable proſpect.' So little deſponding was Mr Parkinſon's temper while planning his adventure, and ſo entirely did he reſerve for the ſeaſon of action thoſe doubts and diſcontents which ſhould have ſearched the ſcheme in its formation.

His diſaſters and croſſes (we ſuſpect he never thought of the difference) began in port. The ſhip was improperly laden, and had to wait a fortnight for ballaſt. This delay injured the horſes, and conſumed the ſtores. One of the ſervants was diſmiſſed for ſickneſs—the other was preſſed. Our author, and his ſon of twelve years old, had to wait upon the whole live ſtock;—they had a bad paſſage of twelve weeks,—loſt eleven out of ſixteen horſes,—and arrived at Norfolk in the middle of November. In the frame of mind, which theſe incidents were calculated to create, he entered upon his examination of the promiſed land; and as the firſt of his diſcoveries forms the groundwork of all his diſappointments, we ſhall extract his account of the manner in which the melancholy truth burſt upon him, that North America is not yet the proper country for rearing prize cattle.

'After dinner was over, I began to inquire for ſome hay for my horſes and cattle; but was told there was no ſuch thing. I was aſtoniſhed to find in ſo large a town, where a great number of horſes, mules, and cows, were kept, no hay, and in the month of November too. The people ſeemed as much ſurpriſed at my aſking for hay, as I was at there being none: and well they might; for when I walked out into the ground, I ſaw no ſuch thing as graſs growing, nor any ſort of green herb. This to me, as an Engliſhman, was a very unuſual ſpectacle; to ſee land without ſomething upon it: and not a little mortifying, to one who had been tempted to believe it to be (as they term it) the beſt land in the world. I knew that if all their land was like that, a man could not live in plenty and ſplendour from the produce of ſuch crops as it would bring.

'It was natural for me now to inquire, what they kept their cows and horſes on during the winter. They told me—their horſes on blades, and their cows on ſlops. I neither knew what *blades* nor *ſlops* were. The people ſeemed to laugh at me for my inquiry; as by this time they had

had learnt that I was the Engliſh farmer who had come over with a quantity of horſes, bulls, cows, hogs, and dogs, and taken a farm of General Waſhington at Mount-Vernon. I have reaſon to ſay, indeed, I was not a fit man to farm in their country; which I heard ſaid repeatedly, both at that time and afterwards, during my ſtay in America. This I knew to be true: nor is any Engliſhman:—it does not ſuit very well to take any thing from rich land to poor.

Now to return to the ſlops and the blades.—The latter proved to be blades and tops of Indian corn: and the ſlops were the ſame that are put into the ſwill-tub in England, and given to hogs; compoſed of broth, diſh-waſhings, cabbage-leaves, potatoe-parings, &c. The cows even eat the dung of a horſe, as naturally as an Engliſh cow does hay; and are all in the ſtreets, robbing every man's cart of theſe *blades* as they come to be ſold, or picking up any thing elſe they can find. It appeared to me that a man's having land in or about that town, was of no advantage to him in keeping cows, as it growed no graſs; the ſtreet was the cheapeſt place to keep them in, and the beſt.' Vol. I. p. 38.-40.

It may be proper to add, however, that our author, in the ſequel, found the trade of a cowfeeder a ſingularly profitable one; and that his horſes approved exceedingly of thoſe *blades* 'which it was the practice to ſell by the pound, in the ſame manner as tea in England.' Now, we are far from preſuming to enter the liſts with Mr Parkinſon upon queſtions of agriculture; but we may be permitted, with much humility, to doubt if there is any better proof of the cow than her milk,—or, if the rider is ſo good a judge of fodder as his horſe.

From Norfolk Mr Parkinſon proceeded to Mount-Vernon, a voyage generally of eleven hours, but which his uſual bad luck protracted to nine days; and on viewing the farm, he declared he would not accept the fee-ſimple of it for one year's rent. He was very kindly received at the General's, but found every thing ſo bad, that his converſation ſeems to have been one continued grumble. There was no graſs; the clover was miſerable; the oats had never more than four grains on a ſtalk; the longeſt ſtraw was twelve inches; the cattle were poor; nor was his eye refreſhed by the ſight of a ſingle dunghill. It was ſome conſolation, however, to meet with a ſteward, who 'found fault with every thing, *juſt like a foreigner;*' and, among other things, with his maſter, of whom he gave our author ſo unfavourable an account, that he thought the ſteward had ſome fears of being ſupplanted by him. Our author now made a tour of about five months, through the different parts of the country; was every where well received, and conſtantly preſſed to ſettle as a farmer, by the great landed proprietors. His anſwer ſeems to have been pretty uniform—that he would not take a preſent of their land.

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It is very clear, from his own ſtatements, that his opinion of the ſoil was mingled with his diſguſt at the manners and cuſtoms of the country, and that the want of thoſe comforts to which he had been habituated in England, was the chief cauſe of his diſcontent with the farms of America. In the whole of his numerous details and anecdotes, we can diſcover nothing aſſerted of that country, which might not have been predicted from a little conſideration of its peculiar circumſtances; and no inconvenience imputed, which is not ſuſceptible of an effectual remedy, either at the preſent moment, or in the rapid progreſs of its improvement. Our readers will immediately perceive, that each particular in the following enumeration of the grievances which form the theme of theſe volumes, is the neceſſary conſequence of the recent ſettlement of America, its ſcanty population, and limited capital.

The difficulty of procuring ſervants or labourers of any kind, is the complaint which moſt frequently recurs in Mr Parkinſon's narrative. Their wages are extremely high; they come and go according to their fancy; their inſolence is unbounded; and a farmer in the beſt circumſtances, muſt lay his account with frequently devoting both himſelf and his family to the meaneſt occupations in agriculture. The lazineſs and inſolence of ſervants, is uniformly aſcribed by our author to what he is always railing at under the name of American liberty and equality. It is, no doubt, a moſt unpleaſant part of that comfortleſs kind of ſociety, which is the lot of the more recent ſettlements in the New World. But it may be almoſt altogether aſcribed to the monopoly price of labour in every young community, unleſs in ſo far as it is occaſionally heightened by the accidental circumſtance of negro ſlaves forming a part of the population in ſome of the ſtates.

'None but thoſe who have been in America would ſuppoſe but there are people to be had, for either love or money, to do the dirty work; but I have been obliged to clean my own boots and ſhoes when I have had four ſervants in the houſe; and myſelf, wife, and family, have riſen in a morning to milk the cows, when our ſervants were in bed. I ſhould term ſuch, very bad management in England; but the idea of liberty and equality there, deſtroys all the rights of the maſter, and every man does as he likes.

'If a white ſervant is ſent on an errand to a neighbour's houſe, he will go in with his hat on, and perhaps ſit down with as much freedom as though he was in his own or maſter's houſe. It is very common, if you ſtep out of your houſe into the garden, to find a man of any deſcription (black or white) when you come in, to have lighted his pipe, and ſitting down in a chair, ſmoking, without apology, with as much compoſure as though he was a lodger in the houſe: and any man that

obſtructs theſe liberties is looked upon as a bad ſubject, and an enemy to the rights of man, and infringer of the rights which they and their fathers have fought for.' Introd. p. 30. 31. 32.

" Now, with regard to the liberty and equality expected by ſome who emigrate from theſe kingdoms to America, they will find that not very pleaſant. There is no Engliſhman who does not think himſelf above the negro; but when he comes there, he will have to eat, drink, and ſleep with the negro ſlaves. Hence it is that ſtories are told of the ſervants in America wanting to eat and drink in the dining-room with their maſters. As the maſter cannot keep three tables, the white ſervant thinks himſelf (from the boaſt of the American liberty and equality) more on an *equality* with the maſter than with the negro; and as the negro is under no greater ſubordination than to acknowledge the man he works for as maſter, the white man (if he be not a ſlave) to cauſe a diſtinction, will not call him *Maſter:* therefore, among the white men in America, they are all *Mr* and *Sir;* ſo that, in converſation, you cannot diſcover which is the maſter, or which is the man. It is the ſame with the white women; they are all *Madam* and *Miſs.* If you call at the door of any man, and aſk the ſervant if his maſter is at home, he will ſay, " Maſter! I have no maſter: do you want Mr Such-a-one?" that is, the man he ſerves:—and if you want a man that is a white ſervant, the maſter calls him in the ſame manner.

' Now, this ſits ſo uneaſy on an Engliſh ſervant, that, by being called *Mr* and *Sir*, he ſoon becomes the greateſt puppy imaginable, and much unpleaſanter even than the negro. Then, as all men imitate their betters in pride and conſequence, when the negroes meet together, they are all *Mr* and *Madam* among themſelves.' Ibid. p. 18—20.

Now, a perſon who was reſolved to argue with Mr Parkinſon upon his favourite ground of comparing America with England, might be permitted to ſuggeſt, as an offset againſt theſe undoubted evils of a ſcanty population, the poor-rates which an exceſſive population have entailed on the Engliſh cultivator. But, at any rate, it muſt be allowed, that as the numbers increaſe in America, the evil complained of will wear out; that while the government remains ſufficiently ſtrong to ſecure the rights of property, and the monopoly of the labouring claſſes continues to decreaſe; theſe, like all other dealers in articles of growing ſupply, will become more and more courteous to their employers.

A farmer who repairs to America, ſays our author, will find his occupation there quite a new trade. He will have to chop up trees, and cultivate the land by the hoe and pick-axe, inſtead of the plough and harrows. The implements of huſbandry are ſo expenſive, that he will have to make them himſelf, and will therefore make them badly.—There is no doubt, that if a perſon will have cheap land, he muſt go to ſome diſtance from great towns; and, to get the cheapeſt, he muſt take it uncleared. But

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was not this a very obvious conſideration for Mr Parkinſon before he left England? We dare to ſay Sir John Sinclair could have told it him.

In like manner does he complain of the want of corn-merchants, and the diſtance from market towns—evils which are common to America with every extenſive country, ill peopled and deficient in capital.

'It may be worthy of remark, that the grain raiſed in thoſe parts of America paſſes through a number of hands before it comes to the conſumer, which muſt leſſen the grower's gains. He firſt ſends it one or two hundred miles, and from that to eight hundred miles, to market, and commiſſions a man to ſell it: then the miller gets hold of it: there is a caſk to put the flour in, which is nearly a waſte: there is an inſpector to examine the flour: then there is frequently another commiſſion to buy the flour to ſhip it: then there is the ſhip's freight to pay, and another commiſſion, warehouſe-room in England, &c. All theſe certainly are great diſadvantages: they ſhackle the commercial intereſts of thoſe parts called the Eaſtern ſhore, and leſſen the profits of the land's produce.' Vol. I. p. 224. 225.

He complains alſo, that moſt of the common trades are unprofitable in America. A miller's uſed to be reckoned a good one; but our author aſſerts, that two millers will not ſay ſo. A brewer's buſineſs he thinks among the beſt; but tells a ſtory of an attempt made by one to impoſe upon him: And in Baltimore, where he wiſhed to ſettle, there were too few inhabitants to render a brewery worth while; nevertheleſs, he made money by teaching ſome people who had eſtabliſhed one. The leather made in America is bad, though tanning is reckoned profitable; but people make rich by importing leather from England: And our author aſſerts, that more is ſaved by retailing Engliſh hats, at 500 *per cent.* advance, than by making them in the country. It was ſurely Mr Parkinſon's own fault, if he expected to find flouriſhing manufactures in America, or indeed to ſee any thing made there, which was ſufficiently valuable, in proportion to its bulk, to bear the expence of a voyage from Europe.

In various inſtances, our author betrays his diſguſt at the inelegant manner of living, common among the cultivators reſident upon the remoter ſettlements; nor is he ſatisfied even with the ſtyle of the beſt ſocieties. He ſeems to be offended with the practice of having early ſuppers of tea and beef ſteaks: in ſhort, he is reſolved to be contented with nothing that is not Engliſh. No one certainly ever thought of recommending America as the land of elegance and refinement; but we are much deceived by the tone of the volumes before us, if the author has any right to complain of New York, or even Baltimore, in this point of view; and we are very ſure that he ſaw no living, in the woods themſelves,

leſs choice than his own Lincolnſhire regimen thirty years ago, according to the deſcription he has given of it.

'I was accuſtomed to eat what may be termed black bread, for which the ſmall wheat, called hinder ends, or light wheat, taken out of the beſt ſent to market, is uſed, and kept for family uſe; which, being ground, was afterwards paſſed through a wide ſieve, with the ſmall bran ſearced out of the beſt wheat flour, and put amongſt the bread meal; altogether making a ſort of coarſe or black bread; and the fine flour uſed for puddings, pies, &c. Yeaſt not being then in general uſe, a piece of dough was kept out of the laſt baking, and ſalted; which, before the time of uſing it for the next batch, becoming ſour, this ſort of bread acquired the ſame quality.'

'Very fat bacon was the chief of our diet, garden ſtuff not being in ſuch general uſe as at this time, excepting the large Windſor beans in ſummer, and potatoes occaſionally in the winter, with peas-puddings. I know no greater dainty to me than theſe beans and fat bacon, or peas-pudding to the offal of pig's fleſh in the winter, or ſome of the black bread and fat bacon.' Vol. II. p. 721—723.

The climate of America is the object of frequent animadverſion from Mr Parkinſon. He ſeems never to have recovered from the fright which a thunder-ſtorm gave him ſoon after his arrival.

'A ſmall cloud appears firſt, and very quickly gathers and blackens the ſky. The wind begins to blow, with thunder and lightning, ſo tremendous, that a ſtranger might ſuppoſe it would deſtroy every thing upon the earth. The thunder-bolts will ſplit the trees in the woods in ſuch a manner as was very ſurpriſing to me when I firſt ſaw it; and made me believe the country was ordained by the Almighty a proper place for convicts, as it would make them repent of their former ſins.'

This idea, ſuggeſted by the ſtorm, is not loſt ſight of in the ſequel. Sly hints are thrown out, from time to time, reſpecting the ſhare which 'twelve honeſt men' had in peopling the country; and our author ſums up his opinion of the whole continent, by ſtating, that 'it appears to him to be a moſt proper place for the uſe to which it was firſt appropriated, namely, the reception of convicts.' p. 489.

The extravagance of his aſſertion regarding the quality of the land in America, may be eſtimated by the following ſpecimens: 'The lands of America are ſo barren, that it coſts more to raiſe a crop and carry it to market, than will afford the uſual comforts of life.' (p. 80.) He uſed to think Baltimore a moſt induſtrious and lively place; but he cannot conceive how it ſhould be ſo, or whence the riches of a nation can come, 'if the produce coſts more in raiſing and ſending to market than it is worth.' (Ibid.) We profeſs ourſelves much in the ſame difficulty. He knew a gentleman at Baltimore who acknowledged, that, by cultivating

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part of two eſtates, the one fourteen miles, the other only a mile and a half from that city, he loſt one thouſand pounds a year. This ingenious perſon was from Ireland. (p. 26.) Our author loſt above four pounds an acre on his barley crop, upon his beſt land. It is true, he had not manured it, and when he did he gained greatly. (p. 193.) A ſeller of potatoes in Philadelphia market made him believe, that they ſold for leſs than it coſt to get them out of the ground. This very credible informer was a Scotchman. (p. 195.) It would be endleſs to relate the ſtories with which theſe volumes abound, of perſons ruined by American ſpeculations; driven mad by their diſappointments; and, what is ſtill more ſingular, remaining in the country as cultivators, while their capital is yearly abſorbed, and the land barely yields, to their utmoſt exertions, enough to pay the land-taxes.

But if theſe ſtatements ſhould be thought to require any detailed refutation, we can be at no loſs to find it in the other parts of the work. One very great ſubject of complaint with Mr Parkinſon is, the conſtant practice of making free with growing crops, and eſpecially fruit, which prevails among the people of the United States. A waggoner, in paſſing by your field, thinks nothing of giving his horſes a good feed of corn or hay, and taking as much maize as he can eat at a meal himſelf, (p. 32.) If a perſon has an orchard at all near the road, every one who travels that way helps himſelf to as much fruit as he pleaſes; and no proprietor ever thinks of checking this practice. Our author was, however, reſolved to ſet another example, and applied to a juſtice of peace, who received him very civilly; told him, the laws were the ſame upon ſuch treſpaſſes as in England; but adviſed him not to think of 'bringing offenders to juſtice for ſo ſmall crimes;' and added, 'that as it was cuſtomary in that country for people to take a little fruit, they were ſure not to be puniſhed, if they did not behave ill in any other reſpect.'—'In ſhort (ſays Mr Parkinſon), I began to underſtand, that if they only filled their pockets and handkerchiefs, I was not to mind it.' His only reſource was the aſſiſtance of an oak ſapling, by the copious uſe of which, accompanied with the frequent firing of muſquets, he at laſt ſucceeded in explaining his views of property to the vicinage. The natives for a long time did not at all comprehend the meaning of his '*inſults*,' as they termed it; and could not imagine how any one ſhould be ſo ſtingy, as to prevent them from '*taking a few peaches and apples in a friendly way:*' (See p. 612. to p. 620.)- All this we cannot help conſidering as rather a proof of abundance, than of the bad police to which the author aſcribes it.

Again, Mr Parkinſon's turnip crop yielded him three hundred

and ſixty buſhels an acre, which brought in from three acres one hundred and ſixty-two pounds, (p. 169.) He had as many buſhels of potatoes in an acre, (p. 190.) He does not deny that the Indian corn is a moſt profitable crop; and that a dairy-farm yields very great returns. (*paſſim.*) Even from breeding, which he is moſt inclined to undervalue, he ſhews that large gains may be obtained. The American hogs pay moſt for food, he ſays, of any he ever ſaw (p. 291); and from one ſow, he had in eleven months above one hundred and twenty-five pounds, (p. 292.) The ſheep, too, thrive extremely well, in ſpite of all his invectives againſt American ſtock-farming. Their wool is in general ſoft and fine; and they might clip for as good clothing-wool as in any part of the world, were the proper attention beſtowed on the breeding, (p. 293. & 295.) The rapid increaſe of population in America is a more general fact, perfectly ſubverſive of all our author's declamations againſt the qualities of the ſoil; and his only anſwer to the obvious refutation which he receives from the great exportation of wheat, is nothing more than an explanation of it. He ſays, nearly all the wheat grown there is exported, and its place ſupplied by Indian corn, to which the natives give the preference, (p. 721.)

In truth, it requires no great diſcernment to perceive that what Mr Parkinſon means by good land, is land which can ſupport the fat cattle known in the breeding diſtricts of England; and that he has confounded the qualities of the ſoil with the ſtages of cultivation and the progreſs of ſociety. One paſſage has found its way into theſe volumes, which throws ſome light upon the cauſe of the poverty that forms the theme of all his complaints. We ſee that he evidently choſe the parts of the country where he was ſure of meeting with appearances of want and comfortleſs living. 'I was very much attached,' ſays he, 'to Baltimore, finding that New York and Philadelphia were much cheaper ſupplied with the land's produce than that city;—they having great plenty of hay, more clover than could be ſold, excellent beef, good veal (the mutton but middling), pork very fine, turkeys very fine, and all ſorts of poultry; vegetables in great plenty. I returned, therefore, from New York,' &c. (p. 85.) And again, 'In my journey between New York and Philadelphia, along that road, the farm-houſes ſeemed to be as thickly planted as in moſt parts of England, and had a greater ſhow of produce than I ever ſaw any where elſe in America; but from the beſt information I could get, land was very dear.' (*ibid.*) Now, where ſuch improvements can proceed, it is manifeſt that there is no curſe upon the ſoil; that a little time only is required for ſpreading the ſame wealthy aſpect over the leſs cultivated diſtricts; and that our author may poſſibly live to ſee, in the neighbourhood

bourhood of New York, even an imitation of Mr Bakewell, whom he considers as the greatest man that ever lived. *

In the course of Mr Parkinson's narrative, we have met with a great deal of low scurrility, sometimes approaching to the nature of libels against individuals; and have noticed a few specimens of the propensity too common among travellers, to repeat in print what was committed to the confidential intercourse of private society. We shall only cite some of the most exceptionable passages. When General Washington gave him permission to dedicate his book on farming to him, he desired that this might not be mentioned in the dedication, because he had refused a similar request to many of his own countrymen. Our author only half complies with this condition, when he prints it in the body of the present work, (p. 64.) In p. 445, he relates some comments of his particular friend Mr Bordley, an American magistrate and judge, highly disrespectful both to Congress and his country in general. And, in p. 505, he tells the whole story of the impositions which his host Mr Bell practised in his trade. The invective against Mr Cooper, in p. 647. and 648, is almost actionable; he accuses him of '*falsities*' and '*dishonesty*,' and describes him as a person whom 'no man of respectability will speak to.' The cause of our author's rage at this gentleman is, that he praised the land in America. The following passage is *unique* even in Mr Parkinson's writings: 'I am persuaded that there are thousands of Americans who, for want of education and attending divine worship, think that man a fool who pays any attention to those duties, believing that cunning is the most necessary qualification for mankind to possess. From their unfortunate independency being obtained by artifice, it strengthens their mind much in the practice: the reader may conceive this to be more likely, when it is known that their chief teachers are Tom Paine, Doctor Priestley, and others of the same description. Mr Jefferson, the president, is by many gentlemen in America believed to be an atheist; though, from my own knowledge in being in his company, I have no reason to say so. There are in his writings some allusions to it; and I saw a paragraph in the newspaper, of his having given Tom Paine a pressing invitation to return to America. If so, I should think the report to be true.' p. 477.

Upon the whole, we are not of the number of Mr Parkinson's admirers. With the exception of two long stories, describing the cruelties of the Indians, which he has incorporated with his narrative, in order to illustrate the disadvantages of the back settle-

* 'There is no record of such a man existing upon earth in any age whatever.' p. 575.

ments, and which are in fact copied from former publications, we have found ſcarcely any thing that deſerves the name of amuſement in theſe two volumes of travels. The author may be an exceedingly ſkilful farmer; but we doubt if agriculturiſts will derive any information from his details, unleſs his experiment on the uſe of plaſter of Paris, in promoting the growth of turnips, and rendering them a ſafe fodder for milch cows, ſhould be found ſufficiently accurate. After the abſtract and ſpecimens which we have given of his general reaſonings, we believe little needs be ſaid upon the merits of his production as a portion of theory. And his practical inferences againſt emigration, apply not to the caſe of thoſe who are the moſt prone to ſeek new fortunes in diſtant climes—the deſtitute claſſes of the community, who follow the chance of high wages and cheap lands;—but to the ſituation of capitaliſts, who, we much fear, will not be deterred from engaging in American ſpeculations to the very limited extent in which they have already indulged, by the numerous proofs adduced in Mr Parkinſon's ſtatements, that a man may obtain large returns upon a trifling ſtock, if he can only ſubmit to a temporary privation of the comforts and luxuries, which are beyond the reach of new communities.

Before concluding, we ſhall extract the only anecdotes of General Waſhington which the author has recorded. It may amuſe our readers, to obſerve the confidence with which he deduces that illuſtrious perſon's greatneſs from the moſt trivial of all the good qualities ever attributed to his character.

'I think a large number of negroes to require as ſevere diſcipline as a company of ſoldiers: and that may be one and the great cauſe why General Waſhington managed his negroes better than any other man, he being brought up to the army, and by nature induſtrious beyond any deſcription, and in regularity the ſame. There are ſeveral anecdotes related of him, for being methodical. I was told by General Stone, that he was travelling with his family in his carriage acroſs the country, and, arriving at a ferry belonging to General Waſhington, he offered the ferryman a moidore. The man ſaid, "I cannot take it." The General aſked, "Why, John?" He replied, "I am only a ſervant to General Waſhington; and I have no weights to weigh it with: and the General will weigh it; and if it ſhould not be weight, he will not only make me the loſer, but he will be angry with me."—"Well, John, you muſt take it; and I will loſe three pence in its value:" the ferryman did ſo; and he carried it to General Waſhington on the Saturday night following. The General weighed it; and it was not weight: it wanted three half-pence: General Waſhington carefully lapped up the three half-pence in a piece of paper, and directed it to General Stone, which he received from the ferryman, on his return. General Stone told me another of his regularities; that, during the time he

he was engaged in the army in the American war, and from home, he had a plaſterer from Baltimore, to plaſter a room for him; and the room was meaſured, and the plaſterer's demand paid by the ſteward. When the General returned home, he meaſured the room, and found the work to come to leſs by fifteen ſhillings than the man had received. Some time after, the plaſterer died; and the widow married another man, who advertiſed in the newſpapers to receive all and pay all due to or by her former huſband. The General, ſeeing the paper, made a demand of the fifteen ſhillings, and received them. Another time, a man came to Mount-Vernon to pay rent; and he had not the exact balance due to the General: when the money was counted, the General ſaid, "There wants four pence." The man offered him a dollar, and deſired him to put it to the next year's account. No, he muſt get the change, and leave the money on the table until he had got it. The man rode to Alexandria, which is nine miles from Mount-Vernon; and then the General ſettled the account. It was always his cuſtom, when he travelled, to pay as much for his ſervant's breakfaſt, dinner, or ſupper, as for his own. I was told this by the keeper of a tavern, where the General breakfaſted; and he made the bill three ſhillings and ninepence for the maſter's breakfaſt, and three ſhillings the ſervant's. The General ſent for the tavern-keeper into the room, and deſired he would make the ſame charge for his ſervants as for himſelf, for he doubted not that they had eaten as much. This ſhews he was as correct in paying as in receiving.—It is ſaid that he never had any thing bought for his uſe that was by weight, but he weighed it, or any thing by tale, but he had it counted: and if he did not find the due weight or number, he ſent the articles back again to be regulated. There is a ſtriking inſtance related of his condeſcendency: he ſent to a ſhoemaker in Alexandria to come to meaſure him for a pair of ſhoes; the ſhoemaker anſwered by the ſervant, that it was not his cuſtom to go to any one's houſe to take meaſure for ſhoes. The General being told that, mounted his horſe, and went to the ſhoemaker to be meaſured.

'It may be worthy the reader's notice, to obſerve what regularity does; ſince there cannot be any other particular reaſon given for General Waſhington's ſuperior powers, than his correctneſs, that made him able to govern that wild country: for it was the opinion of many of his moſt intimate friends, that his intellects were not brighter than thoſe of many other men. To me he appeared a mild friendly man; in company rather reſerved; in private ſpeaking with candour. His behaviour to me was ſuch, that I ſhall ever revere his name. Before he died, General Waſhington himſelf, with his own hands, cloſed his eyes and mouth.

'General Waſhington lived a great man, and died the ſame. He rode into his plantation in the fore part of the day, came home, and died about eleven o'clock at night, of a putrid ſore throat, an inflammatory complaint frequent in America. I conceive it to be occaſioned by a poiſonous inſect received in with the breath. I am of opinion that the General

General never knowingly did any thing wrong, but did to all men as he would they ſhould do to him. Therefore, it is not to be ſuppoſed that he would injure the negro. Cowards only act cruelly to thoſe beneath them. There was an inſtance of his giving encouragement to duelling, which much ſurpriſed military men: two officers had fought a duel; and, according to the laws and regulations of the army, one of them was broken: but in four days afterwards, the General promoted him to a much higher rank. The officers I heard ſpeak of it, ſaid it was done with an intention of making the inferior officers obey their ſuperiors. There is a remark frequently made, of the General's expoſing his old white horſe to ſale, which he rode during the war; which ſhows that he treated every creature according to its nature—a horſe as a horſe, a negro as a negro.' Vol. II. p. 436—442.

ART. III. *Medical Reports on the Effects of Water, Cold and Warm, as a Remedy in Fever and other Diſeaſes, whether applied to the Surface of the Body, or uſed internally.* In Two Volumes. By James Currie, M. D. F. R. S. Fell. Roy. Coll. Ph. Edin. 1804.

THE firſt volume of this excellent work was publiſhed in 1797. In the preſent (being the third) edition, it is accompanied by a ſequel, containing teſtimonials from practitioners in different parts of the world, as to the utility of the practice which it recommends. As the treatment of fever by cold affuſion, upon ſcientific and accurate principles, may be conſidered as being yet in its infancy, we ſhall take the preſent opportunity of analyzing the whole work.

When the bold practice detailed in theſe volumes was firſt offered to the public, it excited no ſmall degree of intereſt and ſurpriſe. Such, however, was the modeſty with which the gift was preſented, and the ability with which its extenſive advantages were pointed out, that it was generally received with gratitude; and if not improved with alacrity, at leaſt treated with mute and indolent acquieſcence. By ſome indeed among thoſe, who are more engaged in the practice than the ſtudy of their profeſſion, it was reprobated for its novelty and its raſhneſs. But as no proteſts of this nature were entered at the bar of the public, and as the prejudices in queſtion are gradually dying away, we do not think it neceſſary to ſay any thing in anſwer to ſuch an imputation. There is another claſs of detractors, however, who require a more laborious confutation; we mean thoſe who, having admitted the utility, have objected to the novelty of Dr Currie's practice. Few diſcoveries in ſcience or literature have at any time been offered to the world, without being either oppoſed

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or neglected: and when a public benefactor ceases to be calumniated as a rash and dangerous innovator, he commonly begins to be traduced as a mere copyist and plagiary. From the first of these forms of persecution, the work before us suffered but slightly. Dr Currie's Reports obtained an early introduction to the notice and favour of the public; and the practice which it recommends being founded upon the firm basis of experiment, little room was left for doubt or cavil as to its advantages. It then became a matter of surprise, that a treatment so conformable to the simple dictates of our sensations, should not have been coeval with the earliest periods of human history. Hence, it was judged probable, that the practice of cold affusion could not be new. Critical inquiries into the works of the ancients were instituted to ascertain this knotty point; and as water, in some form or other, has been employed for various purposes, both before and after the æra of Hippocrates, the sublime discovery was made, that the Prince of physicians *might, for any thing we know to the contrary*, have advised its external application in ardent fevers, with proper attention to the circumstances detailed in the Medical Reports. This discovery being made, the next in the order of events to be expected was, that the practice of cold affusion in typhus, upon the principles in question, should be ascribed to Hippocrates, and his successors of the faculty of physic, for many centuries after his time. We have heard this opinion asserted by some practitioners, whose character stands high in the estimation of the public. It has been retailed by those whom we could not suppose capable of ascertaining the fact for themselves. The conductors of periodical publications have allowed the same idea to pass through their hands to the public without confutation, or even the ceremony of a remark.

That some of the properties of water were known in the days of Hippocrates, we are very ready to acknowledge; but it does not therefore follow, that he was acquainted with all its uses. Because he was an attentive observer and an acute investigator, it does not necessarily follow, that he detected all the affections of life and motion. Fevers, it is true, depopulated the finest cities of Greece in the time of that hoary practitioner; but the inference, that the cold affusion was therefore used, does not appear self-evident to our weak apprehensions. It cannot be an object with us to deprive the Coan sage of a single laurel, to which his abilities, patriotism, and industry so eminently entitled him. Never shall we raise a sacrilegious hand to shake the crown which the Athenian people placed upon his venerable head. We admire his writings as much as those can do, who ascribe to him the honour of the practice of the cold affusion in fever; but still we

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are bound, from impartial conviction that he was not entitled to it, to refuse him the honour of that discovery. That he was partial to the use of water in various diseases, we readily admit. But his ideas on the subject were confused, his practice undecided, and sometimes dangerous, and his theories false. The greatest part, perhaps, of the rough materials are to be found in the writings of Hippocrates and other ancient works; but the beautiful fabric which we now contemplate, with those materials polished and adjusted to their respective situations in the edifice, was first imperfectly designed by the late venerable President of the Edinburgh College of Physicians, and executed and finished by the author of the present publication. The model is copied from nature, and the style and execution exclusively British. The fact, we conceive, very certainly is, that the principles of treatment which are presented in the work before us, never were systematically or practically adopted by the ancients. In confirmation of this opinion, as well as to settle a question in the history of medicine, which cannot be devoid of interest to the medical philosopher, we must solicit the attention of our readers to a short sketch of references to such passages in the ancients as seem to bear upon the subject in dispute. If it shall appear that Hippocrates and his successors were in the habits of prescribing the use of warm water in circumstances where Dr Currie would either condemn it *in toto*, or else consider it much less efficacious than cold water, it is fair to infer a clear and decided difference, not only in their systems of treatment, but likewise in their theories of animal heat, and its influence upon the phenomena of health and disease.

Of the Greek and Roman writers upon the institutes and practice of physic, Hippocrates is incomparably the most valuable. His practice, upon the whole, is a model of simplicity, and, in most diseases not febrile, scarcely improved upon to this day. He advised the copious use of cold water and other diluent and acidulous potations even in fever; and there are even a few instances of visceral phlegmonic inflammations, where he advises pledgets of linen, dipped in cold water, to be applied to the hottest parts. His general practice, however, was to prescribe hot fomentations in those cases, [a] as well as in most affections consequent upon inflammatory

[a] The edition of Hippocrates from which we quote, is that which was published at Geneva in the year 1567 by Foesius. In headache, attended with fever, pains of the ears, &c. vol. I. § v. lib. 2. *de Affection.* Ἢν ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ὀδύναι ἐμπέσωσι, &c. . . . . Ἢν ἐς τὰ ὦτα ὀδυνη ἐμπέσῃ, λουειν ξυμφερει πολλῷ καὶ θερμῳ, &c. In incipient inflammatory affections of the lungs, where he advises warm water to be drank,

flammatory diseases.[b] Diseases of debility are treated in the same way,[c] as also apoplexy and other nervous disorders, bilious intermittents,[d] &c. Indeed, it would be difficult to mention a single morbid affection in which the πολλῶ θερμῶ λουείν is not in some stage of the complaint either directly prescribed; or its propriety, upon the principles of Hippocratic practice, easily inferred from analogous passages. Such was the attachment of Hippocrates to the application of heat in various disorders, that he did not confine himself to humid and wet fomentations, but preferred, in certain circumstances, the more durable stimulus of heated salt, with millet seed and other rubifacients. It is not improbable that this practice was frequently attended with considerable benefit. If hot enough to act as rubifacients, there is no doubt but the consequences would be favourable, such as remission of pain, &c. Such was the effect which the old Coan Doctor appears, in general,

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drank, as well as to be applied externally by ablution, *de Affect. Intern.* τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ λουσαι αυτον πολλῶ και θερμῶ πλὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς. &c. In inflammatory affections of the liver during the remission of pain (why during the remission of the pain?) *Tract. de Affect. Intern.* p. 547. ὁκόταν δε ἀνῆ ο πονος λυείν αυτὸν πολλῶ και θερμω, &c. The warm bath in another variety of the disease, lib. 2. *de Morbis*..... Μετα την κάτω καθαρσιν λουσας αυτον πολλῶ θερμῶ, πίσον του καρπου, &c. In inflammation of the kidneys, p. 544. *non secus ac aliis in locis.*

[b] In morbo coxendico, and lumbar abscess. Ἴσχιας δ'..... τουτῶ συμφρει ὅταν η οδυνη ἔχη, μαλασσειν καθ' οκοῖον ἀν τυγχανή, του σκελεος στηριζονσα ἡ οδύνη, εν λυτροισι καὶ χλιασμασι καὶ πυρίησι. *Lib. de Affect.* p. 524. In jaundice, χρη δὲ θερμόλυτειν καὶ πινειν, &c. Lib. 3. *de Morbis, cujusdem pluribus in locis. N. B.* In one of those instances, pledgets of linen are advised to be applied to the hottest part. The bath, meaning the tepid or warm bath, is recommended to be delayed for some days. In another species of the same disease, warm bathing and warm affusion are recommended after proper evacutions—καὶ ταλλα μελετῖω οισι, &c.

[c] In tabes dorsalis. After describing the disease in its various stages, he proceeds to lay down the indications of it, beginning with ὅταν ουτῶς ἔχη ην εξ αρχῆς μεταχειριση πυριασας αυτον ὅλον, φαρμακον δουναι πινειν ἄνω.

[d] Bilious fever, lib. 2. *De Morb.* p. 473. τυτον θερμω λυειν, καὶ διδόναι πινειν διουρητικα..... σιτιοισι δε ὡς μαλθακοτατοισι χρησθαι..... ὅταν υτως ἔχη λουειν εκαστης ἡμέρης. και πινειν διδοναι, μελικρητον ὑδαρες πολλον. καὶ ροφανειν την χυλον της πτισανης ψυχρον δις της ημέρης. &c. *Lib. de Morb.* lib. 2. p. 473. Quartan fevers—Warm bath during the apyrexia, p. 474. where, after the sweating stage, water is advised to be drank copiously. Τεταρταιῶς πυρετος οταν εχη, &c. The treatment of tertians is conducted upon the same principles. In phrenitis, or acute fever, accompanied by a great determination to the head. *Tract. de Morb.* lib. 2. p. 467. If the cold system does not succeed, the hot is advised to be substituted.

neral, to have expected from it; for, upon its failure to abate or remove the pain, he frequently had recourse to the actual cautery. We have likewise no doubt, that, in the more general affusion of tepid water, singular benefit was not unfrequently obtained from it; but the beneficial effects arose, not from any additional heat that was imparted from the water to the patient, agreeably to Hippocrates's supposition, but from the abstraction of that element during the process of evaporation. As soon as the warm water was applied to the surface of the patient, it was exposed to the cold atmosphere, and reduced to the same temperature with it. Let us attend to what Dr Currie says upon this subject.

'At first, I imagined that the tepid affusion might be beneficial in cases where the heat of the body is below the degree necessary to render the cold affusion safe. I employed it, therefore, in those cases of fever where the heat of the body did not exceed the temperature of health. A little experience, however, convinced me that this practice required strict attention; for I found, that, in many cases, at least, the heat of the living body is lowered as speedily by the affusion of tepid water, as by the affusion of water that is cold:—if I mistake not, in some cases, the heat is lowered more speedily by the tepid water. To those who reason respecting the heating and cooling of the living body in the same manner as respecting inanimate matter, this observation will appear paradoxical. I assert it, however, from actual observation; and a little reflection will explain the phenomenon. The evaporation from the surface is more copious from the tepid affusion, and on this the cooling of the body very much depends. But this is not all. The tepid affusion is little, if at all stimulating; and does not, like the cold affusion, rouse the system to those actions by which heat is evolved, and the effects of external cold is resisted. Where the object is to diminish heat, that may be obtained with greater certainty by the repeated use of the tepid affusion, suffering the surface of the body to be exposed in the interval to the external air; and if the beams of the sun are excluded, and a stream of wind blows over it, the heat may thus be reduced where cold water cannot be procured; even in the warmest regions of the earth—on the plains of Bengal, or the sands of Arabia.' Vol. I. p. 69–70.

Hence, it appears clearly, that the affusion of tepid water, comprehending, under that term, from 87 to 97 degrees of Fahrenheit's scale, actually diminishes the heat of the human body, and does it even more speedily than water when applied perfectly cold, in the same circumstances. This is a fact which certainly never was observed by Hippocrates; and the good effects which he expected from warm bathing and ablutions, he at least principally ascribed to the additional heat which he supposed them to communicate. Hippocrates, indeed, appears to us to have very imperfectly understood the laws and modifications of animal heat. In the cold paroxysms of intermittent and

other

other fevers, he ſuppoſed that a dangerous redundance of heat was accumulated in the centre and viſceral regions, in proportion as the extremities became cold; and that the oppreſſion at the precordia, nauſea, vomiting, topical pains, anxieties, and other correſponding ſymptoms, were properly to be aſcribed to that redundance;—adding, that, in this ſituation of things, it is of eſſential importance to prevent the deſtructive 'flame' from raging amongſt the vitals, and eſpecially from aſcending to the head.[e] The indications of this theory, conformably to the doctrine of contraries, which he profeſſes with certain limitations to believe, would have been, to diminiſh the heat of the ſtomach, thorax, and other central viſcera, by cold drinks and cold applications, and to increaſe the temperature of the extremities by hot pediluvium, heated bricks, ſinapiſms, &c. The reverſe, however, of this practice is, in many inſtances, clearly recommended; and, as it may ſerve to ſhow how little his proceedings were influenced by general principles, and how little reaſon there is for aſcribing to him the ſyſtematic practice of cold affuſion, it may not be improper to take a brief and general view of his treatment in the maladies in queſtion.

In ardent fever[f] his treatment is ſimple. The fever not remitting either day or night,—the cheſt of the patient preternaturally hot, with cold extremities, and a cold abdomen, rough tongue, &c.:—an injection with mild broths,—cold drinks,—no medicines:—affuſion, of water either warm or cold, not mentioned. In fevers from bile,[g] cold drinks *ad libitum*,—emetics according to circumſtances,—proper attention to the ſtate of the bowels:—no advice for the external application of water. In ſynochous fevers,[h] medicines according to the ſymptoms indicative of debility,—the heat to be allayed by cooling medicated draughts,—upon which, if ſickneſs ſupervenes, other medicated draughts are preſcribed:—neither cold ablution nor affuſion mentioned. In the mild fever ſometimes attending menſtruation,[i] much *warm* ablution is recommended;—the ſame in the λυπρια, which is deſcribed in the ſecond tract concerning diſeaſes. In the bilious fevers deſcribed in the ſame tract, a ſimilar treatment is recommended, with the addition of *warm* bathing.

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[e] Hippocrat. de Ration. Vict. in Morb. Acut. Ποδων δε ψυχεων πυλων, &c. p. 398. *cum ſequentibus.*

[f] Lib. 2. de Morbis.

[g] De Dieta in Morbis Acutis.

[h] De Locis in Homin.

[i] Lib. de Superfœtatione, p. 260. *et ſequent.*

bathing. In fevers accompanied by jaundice, [k] *warm* ablutions; and, in another variety of the diſeaſe, the *warm* bath. In fevers with cephalalgia, [l] ſponging the head with *warm* water. In quartan fevers, [m] *warm* bath during the remiſſion. In the malignant fever, deſignated απυρετος αφονωδης, [n] he forbids the uſe of the bath, until the remiſſion of the pain and the fever; but, upon the remiſſion of theſe ſymptoms, copious ablutions are adviſed. We cannot refer to a ſingle inſtance, where *cold* affuſion, applied generally, or the *cold* bath, are recommended in circumſtances which Dr Currie and his diſciples would deem ſafe.

But there are other conſiderations by which we are induced to believe that Hippocrates was not acquainted with the principles of the preſent treatment of typhus fever. Of the fourteen caſes, ſo well deſcribed in his firſt tract, on epidemic diſeaſes, it does not appear that the fever in any inſtance was removed before the fifth day; and of ſo early a criſis there is only one inſtance, the caſe of Μετων. In this caſe, affuſion is expreſsly ſaid to have been uſed, though, previous to it; a copious epiſtaxis is ſaid to have taken place from the left noſtril. After the affuſion, the recollection returned, and the head became compoſed. Whether the recovery of the patient is to be aſcribed to the epiſtaxis or to the affuſion, we will not venture to ſay: whether the cold or the warm affuſion was imployed, we are not informed. The analogy of Hippocrates's practice in other inſtances would lead us to ſuppoſe that it was the latter. If otherwiſe, it muſt have been a ſingular caſe, as it has no ſupport from ſimilar hiſtories in the Hippocratic practice. [o] No other favourable criſis took place until the eleventh day: one on the fourteenth, one on the ſeventeenth, and the remaining two on the twentieth. The others died. From theſe hiſtories we may fairly infer, that cold affuſion was not employed at all; or, at leaſt, that it was only employed in one inſtance, which was by ſix days the earlieſt favourable criſis; or, laſtly, that it was not employed early enough in the diſeaſe, agreeably to the principles

k Tract. de Affect. Intern.

l Lib. 2. de Morb.

m Lib. 2. de Morb.

n Lib. 2. de Morb. p. 484, *et ſequent.*—λουτρω δ' εϛ' ἂν οδυνή ἔχη και ο πυρετος μη χρησθω. επην δε παυσηται λευσθω πολλῶ.

o The 42nd Aphoriſm, Lib. vii. vol. 2. Ἢν πυρετος μη απο χολῆς ἔχη, υδατος πολλȣ̃ και θερμȣ καταχεομενȣ κατα της κεφαλῆς, λυσις τȣ πυρετȣ̃ γινεται—all the circumſtances of caution which Hippocrates, as a matter of general practice, ſeems to think neceſſary to attend to. Why the affuſion (expreſsly the warm affuſion) is to be avoided in bilious fevers, we are not informed.

principles which we ſuppoſe to have been firſt acted upon by Dr Currie. It might be objected, that the fever was of ſo virulent a nature, that it was not to be conquered even by the ſyſtem of treatment by cold affuſion. In reply to ſuch an objection, it may be obſerved, that fevers of the moſt malignant character in this country (as ſhall appear in the ſequel) are in general, and *almoſt univerſally*, readily ſubdued by Dr Currie's practice; that when they are allowed to run their courſe, they are fatal in about the ſame proportion in this country as thoſe which form the hiſtories of Hippocrates; that five out of the fourteen caſes recovered on or after the eleventh day, by a natural criſis, which proves that their character was not that of extreme and fatal malignity; and that they were ſuch, had they been taken in time, as might have been readily ſubdued by the cold affuſion. The clear inference then is, that the affuſion was not uſed at all, or that it was improperly employed. In either caſe it is proved, that Hippocrates was not acquainted with the principles of the preſent practice in typhus fever. From the twelve caſes recorded in the ſecond tract on the ſame ſubject,[P] ſimilar inferences are deducible; as alſo from the ſixteen caſes of the third book.

Again, that Hippocrates, in his treatment of febrile diſeaſes, was not governed by any decided principles reſpecting the uſe of water externally, appears from the very looſe manner of recommending it. He frequently preſcribes ablution and bathing, without even mentioning the temperature to be obſerved, as if either cold, or hot, or indifferent, were equally ſuitable. We are not ſufficiently acquainted with the conſtruction of the Grecian baths, to give much aſſiſtance to our reader on this part of the ſubject. In his treatiſe on diet in acute diſeaſes, he gives ſome general directions reſpecting the conſtruction of a bath; from which, could we draw a general inference, it would appear that few, if any, of the baths of Greece contained any *aqua frigidiſſima*. On the other hand, ſuppoſing they were not without their *frigidarium*, like thoſe of Rome, and that when bathing was recommended, it was meant that the patient ſhould go through the uſual proceſſes of ſweating, warm-bath, inunction, tepid and cold-baths, &c. it is evident that, in moſt caſes of fevers, eſpecially after the leaſt remiſſion of the preternatural excitement of the ſyſtem, ſuch a practice muſt have been highly inconvenient, and extremely dangerous. But the fact is, that the bath was not generally adviſed in diſeaſes, and leaſt of all in febrile diſeaſes. The directions of Hippocrates, with reſpect to the uſe of water externally, are often not only looſe and inaccurate, but apparently capricious, or

[P] Epidemic fevers.

founded upon falſe theories. In his treatiſe on diet, in acute maladies, he ſuppoſes [q] that bathing is not at all adapted to thoſe caſes of fever, where the bowels are more or leſs conſtipated than naturally. Such was frequently his indeciſion on this intereſting ſubject, that when warm fomentations and ablutions appeared evidently injurious, he heſitated not to recommend the ſame applications *cold.* [r] We do not blame him for thus changing his mode of treatment; but we infer from it, with ſome confidence, that he was not governed by thoſe principles which would have led him to adopt the proper treatment in the firſt inſtance. In fever, with diarrhæa, and the feet exceſſively parched and hot, he adviſes cold water to be drank very ſparingly. When, however, cold drinks would appear to be of leſs queſtionable utility, he recommends the copious uſe of them. But what is of moſt importance in the preſent diſpute—he records not a ſingle inſtance of the immediate and very remarkable ſolution of fever in conſequence of the treatment in queſtion. It is ſurely not too much from theſe *data* to infer, that the father of the faculty of phyſic was really ignorant of the extenſive and aſtoniſhing power of cold water in ſubduing febrile diſeaſes.

Galen's [s] opinions on this ſubject, as well as almoſt on every other, are inveloped in ſo much falſe theory, that his writings are incomparably leſs eſtimable than thoſe of Hippocrates. The former delighted in reaſoning, the latter in facts. The doctrine of *concoction* runs through every page of this voluminous writer. This ſuppoſed concoction was promoted by appropriate pharmaceutic preparations. But in fevers with much heat, water in any form is very ſparingly allowed.

His cautions, in other reſpects, are ſo numerous and ſo frivolous, that we ſhall diſmiſs him with merely obſerving, that both his theories and treatment of fever are always complicated, ſeldom effectual, and ſometimes dangerous. Paul Ægineta [a] was contemporary with Galen, and, like him, he was carried away with the falſe philoſophy of his time. He heſitated to gratify the thirſt of his patients with liberal potations of aqueous and acidulous drinks, preferring rather to compound the matter with them, by giving, for that purpoſe, ſome cold green vegetables, ſuch as lettuce, &c. and preſcribing cold fomentations to the head, and general inunction, with expreſſed oils:—curious ſubſtitutes

[q] *Vid.* Hipp. p. 395.

[r] Hipp. de vict. in morb. acut.

[s] See directions for the conſtruction of baths. Galen, Method. Medend. Lib. x. cap. 10.

[a] Paul Ægineta, de febrib. apud Fernel.

ſubſtitutes for that pearly bleſſing which nature intended to ſlake the thirſt both of man and beaſt! We find little on the ſubject of cold bathing, or cold affuſion—and that little dictated by no clear views of phyſiology. Trallian [b] orders copious ablutions in the hotteſt ſtage of fever, 'in a large bath-room, and containing a large quantity of tepid water;' he then adviſes 'the whole body to be covered with the water.' In the abſence of tumours, inflammations, and œdematous ſwellings, the free uſe of cold drinks is likewiſe recommended, provided the patient be *accuſtomed* to ſuch a beverage during health. It would appear, from the directions given by this author with reſpect to the mode of conducting the various proceſſes, that bathing was advanced in his time to a conſiderable pitch of luxury. The treatment of fever by Ætius [c] was more objectionable than that of Trallian, in proportion as it was more founded upon ſpeculative phyſiology. After having adviſed a free acceſs of air to the body of the patient, with oleaginous and aqueous fomentations to the cheſt and ſtomach, he preſcribes cooling drinks. The warm bath, however, is not allowed until the appearance of *ſymptoms of concoction* in the urine; and then it was directed to be 'ſimple, without any admixture of nitre or other ſtimulating ſubſtances.' Specific directions are given for bathing in hectics.

The practice of the Arabian phyſicians bears a conſiderable reſemblance to that of the Greeks. Avicenna [d] allowed water to be drank in ardent fevers, *if the patient refuſed other beverage.* His treatment, in other reſpects, is very complex; but bathing is only adviſed in intermittents, and that during the apyrexia. Raſis, [e] in clear and preciſe terms, adviſes both the warm bath and warm affuſion in fevers diſtinguiſhed by alternate heat and cold, with cold drinks, ſometimes ſimple, ſometimes medicated. The ſame practice is approved of by Averrois, who appears to be a diſciple of Galen. He was partial to general and frequent

 embrocation.

[b] Trallian περὶ λουτρου, et aliis in locis. Edit. Lutet. fol. 1548. The firſt proceſs was to go into a vapour bath, and there to remain until a copious perſpiration was excited. After the ceremony of inunction, which was performed by the attendants, 'the barber was laid in the warm waters.' From thence he was removed to the coldeſt baths, (which probably were not below the temperature of 87° of Fahrenheit's thermometer), where he was adviſed to remain ſome time. Upon coming out he was immediately covered with proper clothes, and recommended to drink the waters. A copious perſpiration was expected to ſucceed.

[c] Ætius, de feb. apud Fernelium.

[d] Avicenna, apud eundem.

[e] Raſis.

embrocation. Isaac, [f] the adopted son of Salomon, king of Arabia, advises bathing in fevers, as well as pediluvium in a tepid bath; but not till after the *remission* of the most troublesome symptoms. Many of his directions for bathing are loose and antiphysiological. Serapion [g] does not so much as mention the external application of water, excepting in one instance, to prohibit the use of it in tertian fevers. His prohibitions are founded upon the doctrines of the humoral pathology. Halyabatis [h] advises bathing in quotidians, but upon false principles, and at improper times. In the hot stage of tertian intermittents, he recommends draughts of cold water *ad libitum*, 'if *the stomach or liver be already not too much debilitated.*' The bath is advised to be delayed until the period of convalescence.

'The Romans, under their emperors,' says Dr Currie, p. 87. Vol. I. 'carried the system of bathing to a height of luxury and expence, which it never reached in Greece or Asia, as the ruins of their magnificent Balnea prove to this day; and the affusion of warm water was one of the methods by which they diversified this favourite gratification.'

[i] It is not very certain, whether cold baths were first introduced by Antonius Musa, or by Asclepiades. In some instances, which however was not commonly the case, their *frigidaria* received not the least warmth from the fire. A description of such a bath is left us by the younger Pliny, Ep. vi. lib. 5. That such was not the usual structure of the Roman baths, may be inferred from the directions given for building baths by Vitruvius. [k] Horace attributed the recovery of his sight to the cold bath at Clusium and Gabii, after the use of the hot baths of Baiæ. [l] It is said, that the Virgo of Agrippa was intensely cold.—But, to return to the practice of the Romans as to the use of water in fevers. Cornelius Celsus, who was at the head of his profession, has

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[f] Isaac, de feb. acut. apud Fernelium.

[g] Serapion de feb. cap. xiii. apud eundem.

[h] Halyabatis, cap. ii.—v. *ad finem.*

[i] The baths of Diocletian had seats to accommodate three thousand people, who might all bathe at the same time without being seen by each other. Salmon's Modern History, Vol. X. p. 89.

[k] Vitruvius, lib. v. cap. 10. Supra hypocaustum tria ahena sunt componenda unum caldarium, alterum tepidarium tertium frigidarium et ita collocata uti ex tepidario in caldarium quantum aquæ calidæ exisset, influeret de frigidario in tepidarium eadem ratione.

[l] Horat. epist. xv. lib. 1.

'——————Nam mihi Baias
Musa supervacuas Antonius et tamen illis
Me facit invisum gelida cum perluor unda
Per medium frigus.'——

has a chapter [m] expreſsly entitled, 'Quando potiones febricitantibus dari expediat.' It is ſomewhat unaccountable, that he adviſes the patient to ſuppreſs his thirſt till the ſecond day of the fever, when, if indicated by other circumſtances, he was allowed freely to indulge. In his treatment of ardent fever, cap. vii. he ſays, 'Sed in ipſis acceſſionibus oleo et aqua refrigerandus eſt..... Poſſunt etiam ſuper ſtomachum imponi, folia vitis in aqua frigida tincta..... Si quis autem in hujuſmodi febre leniter *tuſſit,* is neque vehementi ſiti conflictari, neque bibere aquam frigidam debet; ſed eo modo curandus eſt, quo in febribus cæteris præcipitur.' Lib. 3. cap. 9. ſpeaking of the practice of exciting copious perſpiration in fever, he ſays, 'Neque Hercule iſta curatio nova eſt, qua nunc quidam traditos ſibi ægros, qui ſub cautioribus medicis, trahebantur, interdum contrariis remediis ſanant. Siquidem apud antiquos quoque ante Herophilum et Eraſiſtratum, maximeque poſt Hippocratem fuit Petron quidam, qui febricitantem hominem ubi acceperat, multis veſtimentis operiebat, ut ſimul calorem ingentem ſitimque excitaret. Deinde, ubi paulum remitti cœperat febris aquam frigidam potui dabat; ac, ſi moverat ſudorem explicuiſſe ſe ægrum judicabat: ſi non,' &c. This elegant author adviſes bathing in intermittent fevers a ſhort time *before* the acceſſion of the cold fit, and, at the ſame time, to ſwallow garlic with pepper and warm water. We have known the common people adopt a ſimilar practice in this country. Speaking of quartan intermittents, he ſays, if the fever continue beyond fourteen days, the bathing muſt be omitted altogether. 'Neque ante febrem neque poſt eam utandum erit.' From what he ſays in the 17th chapter of his ſecond book, it would appear that he ſometimes ſucceeded in removing fever by the uſe of the bath. 'At balnei duplex uſus eſt. Nam modo, diſcuſſis febribus, initium cibi plenioris, vinique firmioris, valetudini facit; modo febrem ipſam tollit.' We do not find that the younger Pliny, or Gordonius, adopted the practice of bathing in febrile diſeaſes. Garipontus ſays, [n] 'Cum balneis lavamus ephemero, nullus horror vel frigus corporis in ſolio, vel in ipſo balnei ære ſentitur, ut in aliis febribus fieri ſolet.' It appears from this paſſage, that it was not unuſual to bathe patients in fever during the preſence of rigor. Contraſt this practice with that of Dr Currie. Idem de cardiacis... 'poſt hæc foveamus totum corpus et ſtomachum ſpongiis frigida intinctis, aut lacte aut aceto..... utantur poſt *tertium* diem lavacro.' De tertianæ curatione, [o] 'Curabis vero lavacro frequenti et temperato

[m] C. Celſus, lib. iii. cap. 6.
[n] Garipont. cap. xiv.
[o] Idem, cap. vi.

cum olei abundantia et aquis dulcibus non ſalſis, et ideo, nec nitro nec ſapone, cum lavant, utantur.' De typicis febribus [p] in the cure of quartans. 'Quibus jejunus piper cum calida dabis, abſtinendi ſunt a balneis.' De tremore in febr. acut. [q] 'Balneo non utendum illis qui fluxu ſanguinis laborant atque deficiunt, aliis vero non incongruum eſt.' Conſtantinus Africanus de feb. quart. [r] 'Balneatur aqua tepida febri ceſſante, et aqua ubi cocta ſint, chamæmela et melilota viola et ſimilia.' De ſynocha febri. [s] 'Deinde ſuperlatus dextrum impone epithema de ſucco ſolatri, farina hordei prius aſſati, &c..... Mane et ſero fomentabis pedes et crura in aqua calida in qua cocta ſunt, &c. Cap. viii. a vino omnino abſtineant, mulſa tamen mellis attici detur.'

From the above extracts, which the intelligent reader will perceive that we have quoted without regard to the opinion which we have advanced, and wiſh to ſupport in this article, it cannot but appear that the ancients, from the time of Hippocrates down to the decline of the Roman empire, were not acquainted with the uſes of water to the extent, or upon the principles unfolded to us in Dr Currie's Reports. For, 1. Cold affuſion was not at all employed by the ancients in febrile diſeaſes; and if ever cool or ſubtepid water was applied in that way, it could only have been as a part of the proceſs of bathing: but the fatigue occaſioned, and the time occupied by that complicated proceſs muſt, in moſt caſes, have been highly detrimental and dangerous. 2. The coldeſt baths of the Greeks were probably not under the temperature of 80° of Fahrenheit, as it is certain that their coldeſt waters were within the influence of the fire underneath the calidarium; or, if otherwiſe in ſome inſtances, theſe were exceptions to the general cuſtoms of the country. The Arabians ordered the water of the cold bath to be ſoftened when it was to be uſed after the hot. [t] The practice of cold bathing at Rome was not common until the time of Aſclepiades; and it does not even appear, that bathing in water of any temperature was recommended in febrile diſeaſes until that period, as, previous to it, the warlike Romans cured themſelves by ſweating, [u] in the ſame rude manner

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p Cap. vi. et ſequent.

q Cap. xvii. apud Fernelium.

r Conſtantin. African. cap. v.

s Idem de ſynoch. feb. cap. vii. apud eundem.

t Avicenna, Lib. 1. Canon. Fen. 3. Doct. 2. Cap. vi.

u Plin. Hiſt. Lib. xxvi. Cap. 3. 'Aſclepiadem adjuvêre multa, quorum cura nimis anxia et rudis ut obruendi ægros veſte, ſudoreſque omni modo ciendi, nunc corpora ad ignes torrendi, ſoleſve aſſiduò quærendi in

manner as the native Americans are ſaid to do at this day. 3. When topical refrigerants were recommended by the ancients, they were only applied in the form of fomentations to a ſmall proportion of the ſurface. Their utility muſt therefore have been limited; more calculated to relieve the anxieties of the paſſing moment, than to produce a ſolution of the diſeaſe. 4. We have ſeen that ſeveral of the ancients, and many more might be enumerated, were doubtful as to the propriety of indulging their patients in fever with copious draughts of unadulterated water, or other cooling and ſimple diluents. Their objections to ſuch an indulgence were, for the moſt part, exceſſively frivolous. Their favourite ſyſtems of pathology were, in too many inſtances, allowed to prevail againſt the voice of nature and the intreaties of the patient. 5. Bathing was in general delayed, until ſymptoms of concoction had appeared in one or more of the ſecretions, or until a natural criſis had eſtabliſhed the commencement of convaleſcence. In all inſtances, therefore, it was employed too late in the diſeaſe to be of any eſſential ſervice, and in others it muſt have been attended with imminent danger. 6. Though the temperature of the patient was not a matter of indifference with Hippocrates and ſome of his moſt judicious ſucceſſors, yet it cannot be diſputed that many, and perhaps the majority of the ancient phyſicians were not aware of its importance. Bathing was not unfrequently adviſed in fevers with alternate cold and heat, *i. e.* in fevers of an irregular type, or in regular fevers before the hot ſtage was fully formed. In either caſe, it muſt have been attended with great riſk. 7. Had the ancients been acquainted with the treatment of fever by cold affuſion upon decided principles, ſuch principles would have been clearly and fully explained in their writings. Or, on the other hand, had the practice been eſtabliſhed by uſage and experience, their works would have been leſs charged with the complicated farrago of pharmaceutic medicine. Their *febrifugum magnum* would be the leading feature in their medical hiſtories; and their fineſt cities and countries would have been leſs depopulated by the ravages of peſtilential diſorders.

To bring down the above ſketch of the employment of water in fevers, we ſhall tranſcribe a part of Dr Currie's chapter on the internal uſe of water in diſeaſes of that claſs.

'Before I conclude the account of my experiments of the uſe of cold water in fever, it will be neceſſary for me to ſay ſomething of its effects, when ſwallowed, on the ſtomach, and, through it, on the ſyſtem at large.

in urbe nimbora: imo vero toti Italiæ imperatrici, tum primum penſilium balnearum uſu ad infinitum blandiente.'

Among the ancients, the internal uſe of cold water, in ardent fevers, is recommended by Hippocrates, Galen, Celſus, and moſt of the celebrated phyſicians whoſe works have come down to us. (The reader has ſeen with what reſtrictions and exceptions.) Among the moderns, that extraordinary man Cardanus wrote a diſſertation in its favour; and, to paſs over a multitude of inferior names, Hoffman, though with ſome reſtrictions, recommends it not in fever only, but in various other diſeaſes. In our own country, it was propoſed as an almoſt univerſal remedy by Smith; and a treatiſe has been written on it, under the title of Febrifugum Magnum, by Dr Hancock. In Spain and in Italy, the uſe of cold water in fevers obtained, in the beginning of this (now the laſt) century, a greater and more general reputation than in any of the other countries in Europe; and, at one time, ſeems to have ſuperſeded all other diet as well as medicine. This treatment was celebrated under the title Diæta Aquea; and an account of it may be found in the 36th volume of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, by Dr Cyrillus, a profeſſor at Naples, to which the reader is referred. Beſides the internal uſe of cold water, he mentions the advantage of laying powdered ice or ſnow on the bodies of the ſick.'

'Nevertheleſs, the propriety of giving cold water in fevers has been diſputed by men of high character, and particularly by the celebrated Boerhaave. His doctrine that a lentor in the blood is the cauſe of fever, led him to inſiſt on the uſe of warm drink, and the danger of cold; and his commentator Van Swieten, though he allows cold drink in ſome inſtances, yet, in general, argues againſt it. Theſe learned theoriſts prevailed, in their day, over the voice of nature, and the precepts of Hippocrates and Hoffman. In the writings of Pringle, Cleghorn, and Lind, we find little or nothing on the ſubject, though they wrote expreſsly on fevers. Dr Cullen mentions cold drink, but gives no opinion on the propriety of its being uſed, and certainly did not recommend it in practice. He was even doubtful of the extent to which cold air might be admitted. On the whole, it may be aſſerted, that the uſe of cold drink in fever is contrary to modern practice; and that, where it is occaſionally given, it is adminiſtered with caution, and rather permitted than enjoined.'

The firſt notice of the practice of affuſion with cold water, in fever, that we are acquainted with, is that which was publiſhed by Dr Wright, Preſident of the Edinburgh College of Phyſicians, in the London Medical Journal for the year 1786. Soon after, as appears from Dr Currie's preface, the practice was adopted by the Phyſicians of the Liverpool Infirmary. Accounts of its ſucceſs were communicated by Dr Brandreth of that place, to be inſerted in Dr Duncan's Medical Commentaries for 1791, which accordingly appeared in that work,—and by Dr Currie in the Philoſophical Tranſactions of the ſucceeding year. The treatment of fever by ablution was at this time 'become general in Liverpool,

Liverpool, and common in the county of Lancaſter.' Since that time, and eſpecially ſince the publication of Dr Currie's work in 1797, we have heard of its adoption and utility in various parts of the world. Its advantages are eſtabliſhed in the volumes before us, upon the firm baſis of experiments numerouſly and variouſly repeated.

We ſhall now proceed to give a general outline of the treatment in queſtion. The moſt important circumſtances to be attended to in the application of this powerful remedy, are compriſed by the author under three general rules. 1. It may be uſed at any time when there is no ſenſe of chilline's preſent; 2. when the heat of the ſurface is ſteadily above what is natural; and, 3. when there is no general or profuſe ſenſible perſpiration. When employed during the cold paroxyſm of fever, when the heat of the ſyſtem is below the ſtandard temperature of health, alarming conſequences have been obſerved to ſucceed; and though the heat in the centre of the body, as indicated by the thermometer, be greater than natural, ſtill if there be preſent any conſiderable ſenſe of chilline's, the cold affuſion is unſafe; and, again, when the body is under profuſe ſenſible perſpiration, it is neceſſary to abſtain from the uſe of this powerful remedy. Perſpiration is in itſelf a cooling proceſs; and if it has already continued ſo long as to have cooled the ſyſtem below, or even as low as its natural ſtandard in health, a farther reduction of the temperature, by the application of water to the ſurface, is attended with the utmoſt danger. Theſe general poſitions are eſtabliſhed by a great number of caſes. With the requiſite attention to thoſe rules (which are detailed at great length in the work itſelf), fevers are not unfrequently removed upon the firſt application of the remedy. The earlier in the diſeaſe it is employed, provided the hot ſtage be fully formed, a ſolution of the fever may be expected with greater confidence. Many caſes of this deſcription are quoted in the firſt volume by the author, as well as in the ſecond by his correſpondents, in which the diſeaſe was ſuddenly cut off on the firſt and ſecond day. Inſtances of a complete ſolution on the third day are likewiſe numerous. Thoſe on the fourth and fifth are not ſo common. In the ſubſequent ſtages, though the fever is not ſuddenly cut off, yet, 'where the heat continues preternaturally great, and the ſkin dry,' the cold affuſion 'is of great and manifeſt advantage, almoſt immediately relieving the diſtreſſing ſymptoms, particularly reſtleſſneſs and delirium, and conducting the diſeaſe to a ſafe and ſpeedier iſſue.' When the ſtrength of the patient is conſiderably exhauſted,—with clammy ſweats and cold extremities, the cold affuſion is neither ſo effectual nor ſo ſafe. In caſes where every attention is paid to the circumſtances above enumerated, it frequently happens, that a very conſiderable ſhock is experienced upon the firſt application;

application; but, after one trial, there is ſeldom any difficulty in perſuading even thoſe to have it repeated, who were at firſt ſtartled at the propoſal, and averſe to the experiment. 'The effects are in general highly grateful to their ſenſations.' After the affuſion, the patient is directed to be rubbed dry with a towel, and immediately put to bed. A ſound and refreſhing ſleep in moſt inſtances ſucceeds, attended by a copious and ſalubrious diaphoreſis. When the patient awakes, he is free from fever. After ſome general remarks upon the noſology of febrile diſeaſes, (p. 44. et ſeq. vol. I.) the author deſcribes a variety of fever, in which the treatment by cold affuſion does not ſucceed. Whether, agreeably to the opinion of Dr Currie, it be a ſpecies of fever that has not hitherto been recognized by noſologiſts, we ſhall leave to the determination of our readers. It is deſcribed as follows:

'The fever in queſtion does not ſeem to originate in contagion, or to propagate itſelf by contagion. I have not been able, in a ſingle inſtance, to trace it to that ſource; nor have I ever found it to be communicated from the patient to any of his attendants. The caſes which I have ſeen, have occurred chiefly in the winter ſeaſon, in perſons in the flower or vigour of life, poſſeſſed of conſiderable ſenſibility of mind, and in the habits of more than ordinary mental exertion. After ſome days of indiſtinct catarrhal complaints, the fever comes on (in general after ſome accidental expoſure to cold) with a very violent and long continued attack of chills and rigor; and to this, as is uſual, ſucceeds a ſtate of heat and reaction. The patient complains of intenſe headach, and of oppreſſion at the præcordia, with occaſional, but not ſevere cough, and with ſome increaſe in the frequency of reſpiration. His pulſe is not remarkable as to frequency or ſtrength; his ſleep is not particularly diſturbed; and for ſome days, the complaint goes on as if produced by catarrhal fever. From the firſt, however, there appears a great quickneſs and impatience about the patient: He talks more rapidly than uſual; apprehends you quickly, and anſwers you inſtantly. He cannot, however, command his attention long, and is fatigued with the effort. His heat, which was at firſt moderate, becomes very great on the ſeventh and eighth day, reaching 107 or 108° of Fahrenheit; he becomes delirious, and talks inceſſantly. Throughout the fever, his ſenſes of hearing and taſte are uniformly acute; and this is true alſo of his ſenſe of feeling. Great as his heat is, he is much alive to the impreſſions of cold on the ſurface of the body, and ſhrinks from them. At times he appears ſurpriſingly calm and natural; gets out of bed and dreſſes himſelf, inſiſting that he is well. Often he ſtarts up ſuddenly in bed and opens his curtains, ſeeming to look round the room for ſome perſon he ſuppoſes preſent; and ſometimes he rings the bell violently, if within his reach, without apparent object. Indiſtinct conceptions riſe and vaniſh in his mind, and the impreſſions of ſenſe are confounded with the ideas of (the) imagination. As the fever advances, the reſpiration becomes more hurried and laborious, the pulſe more frequent and feeble; and,

and, towards the latter end of the diſeaſe, but not before, ſweats break out, at firſt partial, and at length general and profuſe, which, however, though they reduce the heat, do not otherwiſe relieve him. The pulſe ſinks; the body is covered with petechiæ; wine, bark, opium and bliſters afford no relief. The patient dies on the 12th or 13th day of fever; and, after death, the body runs rapidly into putrefaction.'

The author then proceeds to ſtate, that, after he had tried other remedies, he had recourſe to the cold affuſion; and as the heat of the patient was as high as 107° Fahrenheit, he felt conſiderable confidence as to the iſſue. His hopes were however diſappointed. The uſual happy conſequences did not ſucceed; the remedy was not repeated; vinegar and water was applied with a ſponge without benefit. The patient died.

The rules by which the application of water to the ſurface of the body is governed, are individually applicable to the adminiſtration of cold water internally in ſimilar circumſtances. In the cold ſtage of fever, cold drinks are to be religiouſly avoided, however urgent the thirſt; warm liquids are rather allowed as innocuous ſubſtitutes, than recommended as beneficial during the urgency of that ſymptom. In the hot paroxyſm, copious draughts of cold water are ſucceeded by the happieſt effects. Dr Hancock,[a] in his Febrifugum Magnum, mentions ſome inſtances in which cold water thus received into the ſtomach was ſhortly ſucceeded by a complete ſolution of the diſeaſe. Dr Currie, however, was not acquainted with the precautions detailed in theſe volumes. This remedy, in his hands, was therefore as dangerous in ſome inſtances, as it was powerful in others. When the heat of the body is ſinking rapidly by the proceſs of reſpiration, cold, in all the forms of applying it, is to be cautiouſly avoided. The fatal effects which in too many inſtances have been produced by drinking cold water, have been generally aſcribed to the ſudden tranſition from intenſe heat to intenſe cold. This popular notion is examined and controverted; and the more philoſophical theory, that death is occaſioned in thoſe caſes by a fatal abſtraction of heat, is ſubſtituted in its ſtead. *Vid.* vol. I. chap. xiii. In caſes where the cold affuſion, from any circumſtances, is not admiſſible nor neceſſary, affuſion with warm water is ſingularly beneficial: The feveriſh affections of children—all feveriſh affections where the 'morbid actions are weakly aſſociated'—febrile affections of the lungs—hectic fevers, are proper caſes for this treatment. The tepid affuſion has likewiſe been tried in regular fevers; but though, upon the whole, it is found of conſiderable ſervice, its effects are neither ſo complete nor permanent as thoſe of cold affuſion.

[a] Dr Hancock, Feb. Mag. p. 21, et ſeq. See likewiſe Dr Currie's notes *ad loc.*

fuſion. Dr Currie has likewiſe tried the effects of cool water (meaning by that term to indicate the temperatures 87—75 Fahrenheit incluſive). It operates in the ſame way, but leſs powerfully. It is to be applied ſuddenly or otherwiſe according to the effects to be anſwered by it. Some important notes are added, p. 297. in the preſent edition, upon the extenſion of cold affuſion to ſymptomatic and inflammatory fevers, which we hope will ſerve to moderate the mania for incautious experiment, which at preſent we have reaſon to ſuppoſe too generally prevails upon that ſubject. The ſingular ſucceſs experienced by the author in typhus fever, encouraged him to make trial of the ſame remedy in other febrile diſorders. Dr Sydenham had already introduced the practice that is now in general uſe in ſmall-pox, of freely admitting cold air into the apartments of the ſick. The advantages of this practice juſtified the bolder method of abating the morbid heat by cold affuſion. The reſult fully met the expectations of the author. The time of employing it is at the commencement of the eruptive fever, obſerving the uſual precautions with reſpect to the patient's heat, and his ſenſations of heat.

After giving a ſhort ſketch of the hiſtory of ſcarlatina, in Chap. 22. Dr Currie details the reſults of his practice in that diſeaſe. The uſual heat of the body in that diſorder, is from 105 to 110; and, in ſome malignant caſes, 112. As ſoon as the heat is thus morbidly accumulated, the cold affuſion is to be employed without loſs of time, copiouſly and vigorouſly: the uſual cooling effects are experienced, but they are not ſo permanent as in typhus. 'The affuſion' is therefore 'to be repeated again and again,' as the returning heat may render it neceſſary. 'It is ſometimes neceſſary to uſe it ten or twelve times in twenty-four hours.' A complete ſolution of the fever is however at length effected. Little or no ulceration of the throat ſucceeds, while the numerous and dangerous ſequelæ of that ſymptom are happily anticipated and prevented. In caſes where the cold affuſion is not admiſſible, from the timidity of parents, or the prejudices of the medical attendant in conſultation, the tepid affuſion may be ſubſtituted with decided advantage. Intereſting communications were made upon this ſubject to the author, by ſeveral of his reſpectable correſpondents. Thoſe from Dr Gregory of Edinburgh, are inſerted in the ſecond volume. His trials of the treatment in queſtion (which were made upon his own children and relations), were conducted upon the principles of Dr Currie. They completely ſucceeded. The account of them is given in his own peculiar and intereſting manner. The cold affuſion has been tried (not from deſign) in cynanche tonſillaris, and meaſles. The character of each diſeaſe thus treated,

treated, was that of ſingular mildneſs. During the prevalence of influenza, in the ſpring of 1803, Dr Currie was deterred, in the firſt inſtance, from employing the cold affuſion, on account of the cough, and other pulmonary ſymptoms, which attended that unwelcome viſiter. In his own caſe, however, he determined to try the effects of a tepid, approaching to a cool 85 Fahrenheit ſhower bath. 'The effects were in a high degree grateful, ſoothing, and invigorating.' He repeated this experiment every three or four hours, according to circumſtances; he ſuffered nothing from pulmonary affections; the debility ſoon went off; and he recovered more ſpeedily than any of his patients. Chap. 13. contains intereſting experiments and obſervations upon the uſe of the cold bath in convulſive diſeaſes. Of idiopathic tetanus, two caſes only are recorded. The firſt is as melancholy a relation as any that has ever appeared on the page of medical hiſtory. In both, the cold bath produced a ſpeedy ſolution of the ſpaſms, and a complete cure of the diſeaſe. 'My experience,' ſays Dr Currie, 'of the effects of the cold bath in this diſeaſe, when originating in wounds, is neither ſatisfactory nor ſo complete.' Bark, wine, and ſpirits, are more to be depended upon. The cold bath was frequently tried in the chorea Sti Viti, but not with the leaſt advantage. We have ourſelves had occaſion to be acquainted with the trial of this remedy, in many inſtances, ſince the publication of the firſt volume of Dr Currie's work, and we can fully confirm the author's experience. 'In the hyſteric paroxyſm,' ſays Dr Currie, 'the cold bath is an infallible remedy. No danger is to be apprehended from the ſurpriſe, or even terror, excited by the ſuddenneſs of the ſhock. Fear itſelf will frequently prevent a fit of hyſteria.' An intereſting caſe of inſanity is deſcribed in chapter 14. After the warm bath, with a variety of other medicines, had been tried in vain, the patient was thrown headlong into the cold bath, in the midſt of his fury. He came out calm and collected, and remained ſo for four and twenty hours. Upon the return of a paroxyſm, the ſame diſcipline was repeated. In a ſhort time (being an infirmary patient) he was diſcharged cured. The principal circumſtance to be attended to in the employment of the cold bath, as a remedy in convulſive diſeaſes, is to uſe it during a paroxyſm. For the diſcovery of this important rule, our author appears to be indebted to a ſource of many other diſcoveries—chance. 'The cold bath may often be applied with advantage, and always with ſafety, in convulſive diſeaſes, and in inſanity.'

The uſe of water in diſeaſes, is now, in our opinion, for the firſt time, eſtabliſhed upon fixed and ſcientific principles. The whole of the doctrine may be compriſed under a few general heads.

I.

I. In typhus, if properly employed, the cold affuſion is almoſt an infallible remedy. It muſt not be employed in the cold ſtage of fever. 2. As ſoon as the hot paroxyſm is fully formed, it is to be uſed immediately, and repeated *pro re nata.* 3. In the ſweating ſtage, and eſpecially if that proceſs has continued any time, it is to be cautiouſly avoided.

II. In typhus, the warm affuſion is uſeful, but its advantages are leſs decided and permanent. The ſame precautions are to be attended to.

III. Intermittent fevers, with few anomalies, are to be treated after the ſame manner. 2. The practice of cold affuſion, in theſe, of eminent utility.

IV. Tepid and cool water bear a ratio, as to their efficacy in febrile diſorders, to their reſpective diſtances on the thermometric ſcale, from the degree of cold. 2. A complete ſolution of fever is ſeldom effected without a ſtimulus on the ſenſations.

V. Ablution of water of various temperature, uſeful in febrile diſeaſes, with proper attention to Dr Currie's directions.

VI. Affuſion of water of various temperatures, uſeful in eruptive fevers, and eſpecially in that malignant diſorder, the ſcarlatina: the colder the better.

VII. Warm affuſion proper where the ſtimulus upon the ſenſations is to be avoided.

VIII. The influenza of 1803, was relieved by the cool affuſion, in Dr Currie's own caſe.

IX. Cold water *internally*, uſeful and proper, whenever it can be applied with ſafety to the ſurface of the body.

X. The cold bath has been attended with conſiderable advantages in convulſive diſeaſes, and in inſanity. 2. During the preſence of convulſive actions, or paroxyſm, the proper time of employing it.

XI. The uſe of cold water in inflammatory diſeaſes doubtful. 2. Experiments of that kind wanting, but to be made with great caution.

The ſecond volume embraces a wide range of the author's correſpondence. The communications contained in theſe letters are all of them more or leſs calculated to eſtabliſh the author's practice. But as they are offered to the public rather with a view to confirm the fact of its ſucceſs, than to elucidate the principles upon which it was adopted, we muſt be excuſed from the taſk of making any analyſis of their contents. Dr Currie's own miſcellaneous pieces muſt alſo be paſſed over in ſilence; for though they are all excellent eſſays on the topics of which they treat, they are by no means neceſſary to the explication of his leading doctrine; and this article has been already extended to too great a length.

Since

Since the preceding pages were prepared for the preſs, we have been called upon to ſympathize with all the friends of literature, medicine, and philanthropy, for the untimely death of the amiable and ingenious author upon whoſe work they are employed. Society, we think, has not recently ſuſtained a more deplorable loſs; and it is painful to reflect, that he was ſnatched away at a period when his matured talents and unabated activity held forth a reaſonable hope of deriving from his future labours, as important benefits as had already reſulted from the paſt.

ART. IV. *An Experimental Inquiry into the Nature and Propagation of Heat.* By John Leſlie. 8vo. pp. 577. London. Mawman. 1804.

THIS work comes before us with no ordinary claims to our attention and reſpect. It contains an expoſition of the views to which the author was led by a long courſe of induction upon the fundamental doctrine of chemical ſcience; and the ſucceſs of his reſearches has obtained a moſt honourable atteſtation, in the award of the Rumford medal by the Royal Society, for the experiments, of which the hiſtory is here recorded. If the deciſion of that illuſtrious Body required any confirmation, a ſufficient interval has elapſed, to afford the ſcientific world an opportunity of reviewing the ſentence: and the general voice ſeems to have pronounced, that the facts brought to light by the labours of this ingenious perſon, are equally unexpected and important; opening the faireſt proſpects of more valuable acquiſitions than the theory of heat has made ſince the capital diſcovery of Dr Black.

The materials, however, with which Mr Leſlie's experiments have furniſhed him, are far more precious than the workmanſhip he has beſtowed in preparing them for the eye of the public. They come before us in a ſtyle much too gaudy for the dignity of the occaſion; they are diſpoſed with very little ſkill; and are mingled with a good deal of looſe, droſſy matter, obtained from a very different ſource. His language is defective in ſimplicity and clearneſs: it unites the two great faults of miſplaced ornament and unneceſſary abſtraction. His arrangement is ſingularly confuſed: the ſpeculations that compoſe his work are put together without any plan, or ſucceed each other according to ſome arbitrary ſeries, of which we have been wholly unable to diſcover the law. A ſubject ſtrikes him; he purſues it, together with ſeveral other topics that croſs him on his way. He then takes

takes up another thread; and, in following it out, is reminded of ſomething which he had before broke off abruptly, or omitted in its right place. Frequently he pauſes, and ſeems to make the likeneſs of a diviſion; but he does not even indicate, by a title, the contents of what he calls a chapter. He is prone not only to run from one part of his ſubject to another, but to leave his ſubject altogether, and take a new one; in the courſe of which, ſome third topic frequently draws him off: ſo that many of his notes are, in truth, digreſſions from his own epiſodes. If his ſections have no titles, it is ſcarcely to be expected that we ſhould find the ordinary aids of index and table of contents. Hence, to examine any one branch of the Inquiry, it is neceſſary that we ſhould have all the reſt preſent to our mind; and a reference from one part to another, for the purpoſe of compariſon, muſt be preceded, either by the toil of abridging and claſſifying the various diſcuſſions, or by ſuch a minute and ſevere ſtudy of the whole work, as may give the reader an equal command of its contents with the author himſelf. Having ſuffered exceedingly from the defect juſt now ſtated, we truſt Mr Leſlie will not impute it to captiouſneſs or diſreſpect, if we add, that the rigorous examination of his work has proved the moſt painful taſk to which the appearance of any ſcientific performance has ſubjected us ſince the commencement of our labours.

Our author's chief merit, we think, is the contrivance of ſimple, concluſive, and elegant experiments, for aſcertaining relations of no great generality; and the application of cloſe argument, frequently of an ingenious calculus, to the compariſon of his reſults. He is often happy in the explanation of phenomena, by a reference to obvious, but unnoticed principles; and his practical views are ſometimes ingenious and important. Even the parts of his book which we admire leaſt,—his general diſſertations upon matters not immediately connected with the doctrine of heat,—and the too refined and often haſty theoretical inferences from his experimental diſcoveries, are marked by the ſubtlety and vigour that diſtinguiſh the more legitimate efforts of his underſtanding; and, with all the faults of his ſtyle, and the abundance of crude diffuſe writing ſcattered over his ſpeculations, it would be difficult to find a ſingle page which does not betray ſome marks of a fertile genius and varied information.

In conducting our examination of this work, we ſhall be more anxious to lay before our readers an abſtract of the ſolid improvements which chemical ſcience has received from it, than to analyze and diſcuſs all the general ſpeculations in which the author fancifully and fondly indulges. Of theſe it may for the moſt part be enough to give a ſpecimen. The abundance and novelty of the

the experiments claim our full attention; and while we endeavour to exhibit a ſketch of the anomalous facts which they preſent as the groundwork of future, perhaps not very remote changes in phyſics, we ſhall freely point out the imperfections of the general law under which the author has reduced them,—its want of ſupport on one ſide, and its repugnance to the phenomena on the other.

The *differential thermometer* was invented by Mr Leſlie for the meaſurement of minute variations of temperature. It is an inſtrument of the greateſt delicacy, and has evidently been the main cauſe of the ſucceſs with which his inquiries have been attended. Two tubes, each terminating in a ſmall bulb of the ſame dimenſions, are joined by the blow-pipe, and bent in the form of an U, a ſmall portion of dark-coloured liquor having previouſly been introduced into one of the balls. After many trials, the fluid beſt adapted to the purpoſe is found to be a ſolution of carmine in concentrated ſulphuric acid. By managing the included air with the heat of the hand, this red liquor is made to ſtand at the point required of the oppoſite tube. This is the zero of a ſcale faſtened to that tube, and divided into equal parts above and below nothing. The inſtrument is then fixed upright on a ſtand. It is manifeſt, that when the liquor is at reſt, or points at zero, the column is preſſed oppoſite ways by two portions of air, equal in elaſticity, and containing equal quantities of caloric. Whatever heat, then, may be applied to the whole inſtrument, provided both bulbs receive it in the ſame degree, the liquor muſt remain at reſt. But if the one ball receives the ſlighteſt exceſs of temperature, the air which it contains will be proportionally expanded, and will puſh the liquid againſt the air in the other bulb with a force, as the difference between the temperatures of thoſe two portions of air. The equilibrium, in ſhort, will be deſtroyed, and the fluid will riſe in the oppoſite tube. The degrees of the ſcale through which it paſſes will mark the ſucceſſive augmentations in the temperature of the ball, which is expoſed to the greateſt heat. This inſtrument, therefore, is truly a balance of extreme delicacy, for comparing the temperatures with which its two ſcales may be loaded.

If a heated body, or a body hotter than the ſurrounding atmoſphere, is placed in front of a concave ſpeculum, a thermometer in the focus is raiſed proportionally to the exceſs of the temperature of the body above that of the atmoſphere; and a cold body in the ſame circumſtances ſinks the thermometer. This communication of caloric has been long known under the name of the radiation of heat; and it appears to us that Mr Leſlie's diſcoveries have entirely reſulted from the happy application of his new

inſtrument to the obſervation and meaſurement of that proceſs. He uſed a variety of reflectors, carefully conſtructed of block-tin, and chiefly of the elliptical form. Sometimes he found the parabolic curvature convenient, eſpecially when the reflection was made at conſiderable diſtances. The heat was given out from cubical boxes of plain and poliſhed tin, with an orifice at the top, through which water of various temperatures was introduced, and a common mercurial thermometer occaſionally placed in that fluid, to note the progreſs of its cooling. When the radiation of cold was to be tried, the caniſters were filled with ice or ſnow. The differential thermometer being placed ſo that the ball containing the red liquor was in the focus of the ſpeculum, and, the caniſter being filled with boiling water, the red liquor roſe to a certain height, and then began to fall in proportion as the water cooled. A ſimilar effect, though in the contrary direction, was produced by a caniſter filled with ice; and, in every caſe, the motion of the red liquor, above or below the point of equilibrium, was exactly proportional to the difference between the temperatures of the caniſter and the ſurrounding air. Such is the very ſimple apparatus with which the greater part of our author's operations were performed; and ſuch the general fundamental experiment—the application of his differential thermometer to the meaſurement of radiant heat, whereof the others were only particular varieties and modifications.

If different ſubſtances are applied to the caniſter while giving out heat, the degree of its emiſſion ſuffers very ſingular changes. Coat one ſide of the caniſter with lamp-black, another with writing paper, a third with crown glaſs, and leave the fourth bare, or cover it with tin-foil: the differential thermometer will riſe to 100, 98, 90, and 12 reſpectively, when theſe four ſides are expoſed to the ſpeculum in ſucceſſion. The metal ſurface, then, gives out heat about eight times leſs copiouſly than the other three ſubſtances. By coating the focal ball of the differential thermometer with tin-foil, it is found to receive about five times leſs heat from any ſide of the caniſter, than when it is expoſed bare in the focus; and by coating the ſurface of a concave glaſs-mirror, firſt with black pigment, then with tin-foil, and laſtly expoſing it bare to the heating body, it is found that the glaſs reflects very little heat, the pigment none at all, and the tin-foil ten times more than the glaſs. The metallic ſurface, then, has about five times leſs power of abſorbing heat, eight times leſs power of emitting it, and ten times greater power of reflecting it, than the glaſs.

Between the caniſter and the reflector place a frame, over which are ſtretched, ſucceſſively, tin-foil, glaſs, and paper. The communication of heat or cold is altogether ſtopped by the firſt; at leaſt

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ſo little paſſes, that the differential thermometer is not ſenſibly affected, while the glaſs only ſtops four-fifths, and the paper not ſo much. The metallic ſcreen, too, produces this effect, however near the caniſter it may be placed, provided the ſeparation is only ſenſible. The other two ſubſtances interrupt the communication more and more, the nearer they are placed to the caniſter, but always permit a large portion of the heat or cold to paſs. Inſtead of one ſcreen, or a ſcreen compoſed only of one ſubſtance, let a combination of theſe be interpoſed. A very remarkable illuſtration of the general fact is obtained. The combinations uſed by Mr Leſlie were, plates of glaſs, coated with tin-foil on one ſide, and plates of tin, coated in like manner with lamp-black. Theſe he either placed in contact, ſo that their ſimilar ſides touched; or at a diſtance from each other, with their ſimilar ſides facing. He denominates the combination of glaſs and tin-foil the *experimentum crucis*. We conceive that of the tin-foil and lamp-black better entitled to this appellation.

'Cauſe two ſheets of tin about ten inches ſquare to be hammered quite flat and ſmooth, and paint one ſide of each with a thin coat of lamp-black. Arrange the apparatus as uſual, and, having joined together the tin-plates with their clear ſurfaces touching, fix them to the vertical frame: the liquor of the differential thermometer will riſe 23 degrees. Invert the poſition of the plates, ſo that the blackened ſides come into contact, it will now ſink down to zero. Remove either of the plates, and the liquor will again mount near 4 degrees.

'It is truly pleaſing to witneſs this varied ſpectacle, where the changes ſucceed each other as if performed by the fancied operation of magic. But thoſe tranſitions, and even the meaſures of the diverſified effects, are the neceſſary reſults of the principles already eſtabliſhed.—Compare the caſe where both the external ſurfaces of the ſcreen are metallic with that in which they are covered with pigment. On the one ſide it receives five times leſs heat, and this heat is propagated with eight times leſs energy from the other. By the joint influence of thoſe circumſtances, therefore, its effect is 40 times leſs; which correſponds to about half a degree, a quantity ſcarcely diſtinguiſhable. When the ſcreen conſiſts only of a ſingle plate blackened on the one ſide, the diminiſhed effect is a mean between the receptive and the projecting powers, or 6½ times ſmaller than where both ſurfaces are painted. This enfeebled impreſſion is conſequently equal to about 4 degrees.' p. 36. 37.

Now, although the event of this experiment certainly has a general correſpondence with the difference between pigment and tin, in their receptive and propelling powers, it preſents at the ſame time certain anomalies, which we had no reaſon to expect from the law previouſly eſtabliſhed, and of which no notice whatever has been taken by Mr Leſlie, either in this ſtage of his in-

quiry, or in thoſe parts where a ſimilar diſcrepancy again occurs. Theſe we ſhall uſe the freedom of pointing out in this place.

Firſt, the mean between the projecting and receptive powers, by the aſſumption of which our author makes the experiment agree with his former poſitions, is altogether unintelligible. When the ſcreen is painted on both ſides, it receives five times more, and emits eight times more, or produces a total tranſmiſſion of forty times more, than when it is metallic on both ſides; and we will permit Mr Leſlie to calculate this at half a degree, or an inſenſible quantity, and thus to reconcile the eſtimate with the fact of the communication being wholly ſtopt. But when the ſcreen is painted on one ſide, and metallic on the other, its total power of tranſmiſſion is not by theory a medium between the powers of its two different ſides. Its total power of tranſmiſſion, compared to the power of a ſcreen metallic on both ſides, is as the abſorbing power of the painted ſide, when that is next the caniſter, or as the projecting power of the painted ſide, when the other is next the caniſter. The painted ſide receives five times more than if it were metallic; the metallic ſide projects as great a proportion of what is received, as if the other ſide were metallic alſo. The aſſumption of a medium is perfectly gratuitous, or rather it is repugnant to the doctrine ſuggeſted by the leading experiment.

But, *ſecondly*, a more important overſight has been committed by our author in aſſuming, that the effect of a ſcreen, painted on one ſide, and metallic on the other, ſhould be the ſame, which ever ſide is expoſed to the caniſter. If paint abſorbs five times, and projects eight times more than tin, it muſt vary the effect, in the proportion of five to eight, when the ſcreen is expoſed with a different front. Let the painted ſide face the caniſter, it abſorbs five times more than a ſcreen wholly metallic; but it projects exactly as great a proportion of the quantity abſorbed. Its total tranſmiſſion, then, is five times greater than that of the metal ſcreen. Let the painted ſide now be turned towards the reflector, and the metallic ſide expoſed to the caniſter. Both ſcreens abſorb the ſame quantity of heat, but the painted ſide of the one projects eight times more of that quantity, than the metallic ſide of the other; and the total tranſmiſſion of the former, is eight times greater than the total tranſmiſſion of the other. The change in the poſition of the ſcreen, then, has augmented its ſuperiority of tranſmitting power, in the proportion of five to eight. But how does this agree with the experiment? 'Remove either of the plates,' ſays Mr Leſlie, 'and the liquor will mount four degrees;'—the effect, therefore, is the ſame, whichever ſide be expoſed to the caniſter. He varies the experiment in a very ſatisfactory manner, by placing two plates, metallic

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on one ſide, and painted on the other, at ſome diſtance aſunder. He finds that, when their metallic ſides face each other, the communication is ſtopt as much as when their painted ſides face or touch each other; and this is, indeed, quite conſiſtent with the former experiments, as he had interpreted them; for, in both caſes, the abſorbent and the projecting powers of the metal are exerted in ſucceſſion, and the effect muſt be diminiſhed forty times. But ſuppoſe the ſcreens were placed one behind the other, facing the ſame way; according to the general propoſition, that the projective is to the abſorbent power, as eight to five, a very material difference ſhould be produced upon the total tranſmiſſion of the two ſcreens, by reverſing their poſition. When the painted ſides face the caniſter, ſixty-four times leſs heat ſhould be tranſmitted, than a ſcreen, black on both ſides, tranſmits; when the metallic ſides face the caniſter, only twenty-five times leſs heat ſhould be tranſmitted than a black ſcreen tranſmits. Mr Leſlie does not appear to have tried this experiment; but, according to the reſult of the one above quoted, where the ſingle ſcreen was expoſed to the caniſter in different ways, with the ſame effect, there can be little doubt that the event would preſent a ſtill more flat contradiction to the theory; for the eſtimated difference is much greater; and there is no reaſon to ſuppoſe that any would be perceived.

But whatever diſcrepancies this courſe of experiments may involve, one important concluſion is clearly deducible from it: We learn that heat and cold are propagated from one body to another, at a diſtance, in a manner entirely unlike the proceſs by which they are conducted by the contiguous particles of the ſame body; and that this communication is affected by the nature, both of the ſubſtance which projects, and of the ſubſtance which receives. Mr Leſlie goes a ſtep further, and thinks that he has diſcovered, in the atmoſphere, the medium of this communication. 'What,' he aſks, 'is this calorific and frigorific fluid, after which we are inquiring? It is incapable of permeating ſolid ſubſtances; it cannot paſs through tin, nor glaſs, nor paper; it is not light; it has no relation to ether; it bears no analogy to the fluids, real or imaginary, of magnetiſm and electricity. But why have recourſe to *inviſible* agents? *Quod petis, hic eſt.* It is merely the ambient AIR.' p. 32.

The caniſter propagates a pulſation, he maintains, through the air, to the ſcreen; which, receiving heat by this pulſation, acts as a ſecond caniſter, and propagates a new pulſation through the air on the other ſide. To ſhew that the ſcreen only operates in conſequence of its temperature being raiſed, he ſubſtitutes a thin plate of ice, and finds that the thermometer in the focus ſinks as

much when the caniſter is preſent as when it is removed. But this is by no means a concluſive experiment; for, in the whole of the book, we meet with no attempts to prove what the abſorbent and projective powers of water are. It may be, that this fluid is incapable of abſorbing and projecting more heat than tin, and that, conſequently, a plate of ice, interpoſed between the caniſter and reflector, prevents the paſſage of heat, not becauſe it cannot be heated above a certain point, but becauſe its abſorbent and projective powers do not enable it to tranſmit. Now it is rather ſingular that our author ſhould reſt ſatisfied with ſo inconcluſive a proof, when an experiment, altogether unexceptionable, preſents itſelf. If a ſcreen of paper or glaſs, cooled down to nearly the freezing point, is placed in the uſual poſition, and its effect on the differential thermometer noted, then we may eaſily eſtimate how much of the heat it tranſmits, by repeating the experiment without the caniſter; becauſe the tranſmitting power of the ſcreen, at the ordinary temperature, has been previouſly aſcertained. But ſtill leſs concluſive is Mr Leſlie's experiment to ſhew that air is neceſſary in the proceſs. He immerſes his apparatus in a tub of water, and finds that no tranſmiſſion of heat takes place. This is abſolutely the only proof which he offers, during the firſt branch of his experiments, to ſhew that air is the prime agent in the operation; yet, without attempting the very obvious trial of performing the experiment in a *vacuum*, he goes on to make his theory, which he never examines by any further teſt, during the whole of his ſpeculations, until, in the concluſion of the inquiry, and under a different head, he thinks proper to relate ſome facts, which are, indeed, ſufficiently deciſive, though altogether againſt him. But before examining his theory at large, we think it expedient to purſue the analyſis of his experiments, as they are all intimately connected with each other, and bear upon the queſtions by which his hypotheſis muſt be tried.

The induction of facts which we are about to enter upon, leads to ſome very curious information reſpecting the laws of the projection of heat, and affords a moſt favourable idea of our author's ſkill as an experimental inquirer. So far we may aſſert he is poſſeſſed of the genuine ſpirit of philoſophy, that he never ſets any value upon inſulated facts, and is always on the alert to ſeize thoſe points of view in which phenomena may be compared, eſtimating the importance of his obſervations, ſolely by their ſubſerviency to general reaſoning. His attention is directed to four principal circumſtances in the projection or radiation of heat; its connexion with the ſpaces through which it is propagated; the direction in which it moves; the projecting power

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of the heated body, in relation to its position; and the connexion which subsists between this action and the nature of the projecting surface. Upon each of these material points the experiments of Mr Leslie have furnished us with very satisfactory results.

1. The canister being placed successively at different distances from the reflector, the effects of its removal, upon the differential thermometer in the focus, were noted; and an allowance was made for the changes in the focal length. It was found, in general, that the total corrected effects were inversely as the distances of the canister. This obstruction evidently cannot arise from the loss of heat in the atmosphere; for that cause would produce a diminution in a much more rapid series. To prove that the irregularity of the reflecting surface has no share in the phenomenon, our author shews that a concave glass speculum reflects the heat of a charcoal fire, with an energy inversely as its distance. The diminution, then, can only be owing to an imperfect reflexion; and this was well demonstrated, by increasing the size of the canister, in such a proportion to its increased distance from the reflector, that it always subtended an equal angle there. Making the same correction as before, for the variation of focal length, the total effect of the removal upon the differential thermometer was found to be nothing more than might fairly be ascribed to the inaccuracy unavoidable in such delicate experiments. Hence the capital inference is drawn, that the impulses, by which heat and cold are propagated between distant objects, do not suffer any sensible diminution of strength, from the length of their progress through the atmosphere.

2. A very remarkable aberration is observed to take place in the reflection of heat. When the flame of a taper is withdrawn above two inches from the axis of the reflector, its image vanishes entirely from the focal ball of the differential thermometer. But the heated canister may be removed seven inches from the axis, before its impression on the instrument ceases to be distinguishable. Mr Leslie gives us no computation of the extent of this penumbra of heat, (if the expression may be used); he only explains the law, by which the lateral motion of the heated body, from the reflector's axis, diminishes the total effect of the reflection upon the thermometer. The distance of the canister being proportional to the series 1, 2, 3—7, the rise of the thermometer is as the powers of $\frac{5}{6}$, whose exponents are the triangular numbers, 1, 3, &c. He also finds, by experiment, what he pretends is also a deduction from the aberration just now described, that the maximum of the effect produced by reflection is not in the focus, but nearer the speculum. His expe-

riment is quite concluſive. The thermometer being at 58° in the optical focus, it roſe to 80° half an inch nearer the reflector; and, half an inch beyond the focus, fell to 25°. This, however, could never have been learnt, *a priori*, from the geometrical conſiderations given in page 63. Theſe can prove nothing, but that the heat is more diffuſed over equal ſpaces beyond the focus, than between the focus and reflector. It would ſtill be true that the maximum is in the focus, did not the experiment moſt unexpectedly ſhew, that the heat is reflected according to another law, and that the rays of heat and of light have different foci, as well as aberrations.

3. If the ſide of the caniſter is turned gradually round, while its axis remains fixed in the axis of the reflector, the thermometer is leſs and leſs affected, as the radiating ſurface is more inclined from the perpendicular. Nothing can be ſimpler than the method adopted by our author for aſcertaining the law of this diminution. He placed a ſliding ſcreen between the caniſter and reflector, and adjuſted the ſlit ſo, that the radiating ſurface, at every part of its motion round its axis, ſubtended the ſame angle at the reflector. There was ſcarcely any effect produced upon the thermometer by the revolution of the caniſter. In like manner, a cylindrical caniſter produces the ſame riſe in the thermometer, with a cubical one of an equal baſe and altitude; and from theſe, and other experiments founded upon the ſame principle, we may conclude, that the total action of a heated ſurface is equal to that of its orthographic projection, or proportional to the ſine of its inclination.

4. Our author having aſcertained, towards the beginning of his inquiry, that bodies differ very widely in their power of projecting, abſorbing, and reflecting heat, inſtituted a ſet of experiments for the purpoſe of aſcertaining the limits of this variation. He has left theſe experiments unfiniſhed, after indicating the method of conducting them, and giving ſeveral ſpecimens of their reſults. The *chemical qualities* of the heating ſurface have a conſiderable influence upon its projecting power;—the effect of tin being 12, iron or ſteel operates as 15, mercury above 20. All oxydes acquire a greater action as they recede from the metallic ſtate. Lead being as 19; when tarniſhed by expoſure to the air, it becomes as 45, while minimum is as 80. Sealing-wax and roſin are nearly equal to paper, and ice is as 85. The *poliſh* of the radiating ſurface diminiſhes its action, where that is not naturally great. The roughening of glaſs does not heighten its projecting power; but that of tin is doubled, by covering it with furrows. This ſingular effect cannot be owing to the greater ſurface which the roughened metal expoſes; for the increaſe of ſurface is preciſely

cisely counterbalanced by the increase of obliquity, according to the law formerly established; and, moreover, it is found that the addition of cross furrows, by striating the surface in the other direction, nearly destroys the effect of the first operation. The *thickness* of the radiating surface greatly affects its powers of action. A thin film of isinglass produces a radiation as 26; a thick one as 42: but when the thickness exceeds the thousandth part of an inch, any subsequent increase does not augment its action. Mr Leslie thinks that the difference in projective power, which is observable in several of the cases above noticed, may be resolved into the variations of the bodies with respect to hardness and softness. He reasons this matter with his wonted ingenuity, and shews, that the addition of moisture, and still more the addition of a mucilaginous substance, considerably augments the action of a surface painted black. The quality of *colour*, is the last to which our attention is directed; and Mr Leslie seems disposed to doubt whether it exerts any influence at all in modifying the projective and absorbent powers of bodies; a point which he conceives is incapable of strict solution, because a change of colour must always be attended with an alteration in the structure of the substance: And, rigorously speaking, this is no doubt true. But there is one mode of inducing a change of colour, by means of a change in the body's structure, which is known, and for which allowance may be made by our author's experiments; —we allude to the scoriæ on the surface of metals, from slight oxydation. If the oxydation is found always to augment the metal's action, as different metals assume different hues in the beginning of the process, a comparison of several, in this respect, will enable us to estimate how far colour operates. Perhaps even the change induced upon the substance of vegetable tinctures, by weak, acidulous, and alkaline solutions, is so little proportionate to the alterations which their colours undergo in the mixture, that an approximation might be obtained from experiments with paper dyed in this manner.

Our author repeated several branches of this inquiry, to ascertain the various *reflecting* powers of different surfaces. Those which absorbed and projected heat most copiously, were, in general, found to reflect least, though by no means in a reciprocal proportion. Glass reflecting as 10, tin-foil reflected as 85, lead as 60, steel as 70: tin-foil shining with mercury as 50, and brass as 100. A tin reflector had its power reduced to one tenth, by being striated in one direction, although this operation did not at all change the limits of its focus. A coat of tallow reduced the powers of the reflector to one twelfth; a coat of olive oil to two fifths; a coat of isinglass to three tenths, but, as

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it dried and became thinner, only to ſeven tenths: a thin irideſcent coating reduced the reflection only to four fifths. The general rule then holds good, that the reflecting powers of bodies bear ſome inverſe ratio to their abſorbent and projective powers; although ſo many circumſtances unite in modifying the proportion, that we are unable, as yet, to expreſs it by one univerſal law.

Such are the very important and luminous doctrines, with regard to the agency of radiant heat, which Mr Leſlie's experimental inquiry has unfolded. We are perfectly ſenſible of the great and various excellence which this branch of his work diſplays. Of his manner of inveſtigating, as well as the nature of the truths which he has brought to light, we have endeavoured to give our readers ſome idea. But they muſt conſult the original, in order to be fully aware of Mr Leſlie's merit; of the ſimplicity and ſhortneſs of his paths to diſcovery; of his conſtant acuteneſs and vigilance upon the purſuit; of his philoſophical eagerneſs to combine, in proportion as he has obſerved. Our eulogium would have been more unmingled, and our ſatisfaction much greater, if, in the remaining part of his undertaking, he had maintained the ſame balance among the powers of his mind, which happily diſtinguiſhed the firſt branch of his labours; if he had continued to exhibit the ſame mixture of moderation and ingenuity in building his ſuperſtructure, which enabled him ſo well to lay the foundation. But, after the minuteſt attention which we have been able to beſtow, we are diſpoſed to wiſh that he had omitted the greater part of the ſpeculations introduced immediately after the ſolid and judicious inveſtigation which we have now analyzed, and had paſſed on towards the courſe of experiments with which his work concludes.

'We have thus deduced (ſays the author, in the beginning of his eighth chapter) a train of phenomena, which muſt be deemed equally novel and ſtriking. Our next buſineſs is to diſcover what principle will connect together thoſe curious facts. But, before we attempt that inveſtigation, it will be expedient to aſcend a little higher, and inquire into the conſtitution of the external world.'

Now, the whole general inquiry which follows, has no more connexion with the ſubject of this work, than with any one branch of phyſical ſcience; and a good portion of it bears as much relation to the properties of mind as to thoſe of matter. Mr Leſlie deſcants, firſt, upon the changes to which the univerſe is ſubject; then paſſes to the law of gravitation, and obſerves that it may be reſolved into ſome principle ſtill more general, applicable to the minuter diſtances at which the particles of bodies act on each other. This leads him to a haſty and imperfect review

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of ſome of the leading points in Boſcovich's theory; and he takes occaſion to lay down a principle reſpecting impulſe, which he conceives will explain a variety of phenomena in natural philoſophy,—that the communication of motion is not ſtrictly inſtantaneous, but requires ſome finite portion of time. In following out the illuſtration of this propoſition, he explains the theory of mechanical tools. He then enlarges upon the propagation of motion through fluids by pulſes or vibrations, and offers a variety of remarks and calculations, which lead to no concluſions that are not ſufficiently familiar, nor unfold any principles of the leaſt uſe in proſecuting his theory of aërial pulſations. In fact, his ſpeculations on this topic, admitting them to poſſeſs general importance, belong as much to the ſciences of acouſtics and hydroſtatics as to the doctrine of heat. At the concluſion of the chapter, he draws an inference againſt the old axiom of the ſchools, *that nothing acts where it is not.* From hence, after a little general and looſe remark upon the nature of axioms, he is induced to touch upon the mode of explanation by means of inviſible media; and concludes with a ſentence, in which the word *cauſation* happens to occur; but which is as applicable to any one ſubject of human contemplation as to the preceding remarks, wide and deſultory though they be. 'Science,' ſays he, 'has experienced much obſtruction from the myſterious notions long entertained concerning cauſation.' And this gives riſe to a note of ſeven cloſely printed pages, upon the doctrine, long ſince univerſally admitted by philoſophers, that our idea of phyſical cauſes is borrowed entirely from an obſervation of the ſucceſſion of events. In illuſtration of the ſubject, Mr Leſlie adduces a great variety of etymological diſcuſſions; and theſe lead him to collateral remarks, ſometimes upon matters of ſcience, ſometimes upon matters of taſte. He even quits the ſubject of cauſation altogether, and deſcants upon the origin of language, in ſo far as the terms expreſſing abſtract ideas are concerned. The whole *excurſus* is very amuſing, ſtrongly ſavouring of our author's uſual acuteneſs, and affording much better proofs of his ingenuity than of his good taſte. This is that famous note, which a faction of the Edinburgh clergy, with a rare mixture of malignity and ignorance, made the pretext for perſecuting Mr Leſlie, and reviving in the Scotiſh church thoſe fatal diſcords by which the profligacy of ſome, and the fanaticiſm of others, have, in leſs enlightened ages, too often diſgraced the religion of peace.

But it is not only the eighth chapter, with its ſix notes, that contains matter entirely foreign to the particular purpoſe of the work before us. Our author's diſſertation upon heat, in the three chapters which follow, is quite general, and has very little relation

tion to his theory, if we except that small portion of the discussion which he devotes to the connexion between light and heat. He begins with the distinction between the sensation of heat and its external cause; argues against the doctrine, that heat consists in motion; endeavours to prove, what he calls the *important conclusion*, that heat is an elastic fluid, extremely subtle and active; runs over a great number of the facts best known respecting its propagation, without adding any new explanation of them; and indulges in a number of long hypothetical calculations upon the weight of light, and its emission from the solar substance,—whereof we shall probably be thought to give a specimen that may supersede the necessity of any farther analysis or criticism, if we state his most definite and notable result. He computes that the earth receives annually from the sun a quantity of light, equal in weight to a sphere of water 139 feet in diameter. The only part of this long speculation which bears any immediate reference to Mr Leslie's experimental investigations, is his argument to prove the identity of light and heat;—a proposition by no means novel; not placed in any original point of view, nor supported by any new proofs, but asserted with greater positiveness than heretofore; and though left fully exposed to all the objections so often urged against it, yet assumed as a kind of discovery, and made the corner stone of an elaborate theory, in the concluding part of his work. We reserve our further remarks upon this point until we come to that division of the subject. In the mean time, we shall proceed to his theory of the radiation of heat.

Assuming that the communication of heat or cold between distinct bodies through the air was proved, by the experiments formerly analyzed, to be effected by means of certain energies excited in that medium, our author inquires how this operation is conducted. There are only two modes, he affirms, in which the discharge can take place,—by means of streams of air projected horizontally,—or by means of an impulse shooting along through the mass of that fluid. He shews, by a variety of arguments, which our readers may perhaps think unnecessary, and by two very conclusive experiments, that the first of these suppositions is out of the question. 'We are therefore,' says he, 'compelled to embrace the only alternative, and to refer the diffusion of heat through the atmosphere to the vehicle of certain oscillations or vibratory impressions excited in that elastic and active medium.' He then discusses, at great length, the general subject of undulations produced in elastic fluids; and the following passages contain his idea of the manner in which those undulations carry off heat or cold from one body to another.

'When heat penetrates, by its own activity, through a solid or inert mass,

maſs, it ſucceſſively dilates the ſeveral portions of matter which it encounters in its march. In the production of ſuch multiplied diſplacements, it conſumes its expanſive energy, and its progreſs, therefore, is extremely ſlow. But if thoſe inteſtine motions are generated by ſome extraneous cauſe, the heat, then ſuffering no impediment to its flight, will paſſively follow the tide of expanſion. And ſuch is the character of atmoſpheric pulſes. The particles of air in immediate proximity to a hot ſurface, becoming ſuddenly heated, acquire a correſponding expanſion, that propagates itſelf in an extended chain of undulation; and the minute portion of heat which generated the initial wave, thenceforth accompanies its rapid diffuſive ſweep. After a momentary pauſe, a freſh portion of heat is again imparted to the contiguous medium, and the ſame act is continually repeated at certain regular intervals. The maſs of air, without ſenſibly changing its place, ſuffers only a ſlight fluctuation as it ſucceſſively feels the partial ſwell; but the heat attached to this ſtate of dilatation is actually tranſported, and with the ſwiftneſs of ſound. Nor is the motion of the aërial pulſes in any meaſurable degree retarded by the adheſion of the matter of heat, which is of ſuch extreme tenuity, that, if not detained and cramped by the *inertia* of other bodies, the ſmalleſt poſſible force is ſufficient to impel it with a celerity not much inferior to that of light.

'The ſame principle will likewiſe explain the diſperſion of cold. For the atmoſpheric particles that come in contact with a cold ſurface, muſt ſuffer a ſudden contraction, which will ſhoot its vibratory influence through the general maſs; and the cold wave thus excited will, in its ſpreading, tremulous flight, ſtill retain the ſame diſtinctive character. Each of the minute parcels of air, as they ſucceſſively feel a contractile diſpoſition, will ſuffer a correſponding depreſſion of temperature, or will permit a certain part of their heat to eſcape. The heat ſo liberated, is again inſtantly abſorbed by the portion of air next behind, which, having contracted, is now recovering its tone. Though the motion of the aërial pulſes, therefore, is the ſame as in the former caſe, yet the direction of the ſubtle element of heat is exactly reverſed. Heat is, with the rapidity of ſound, conveyed from all quarters to the cold ſurface, as to a common centre.' p. 241—243.

'Thoſe waves, therefore, ſpread without interruption or modification of any kind from the ſtate of the intervening fluid. But when, in their progreſs, they ſtrike againſt a firm obſtacle, they undergo a very material change. This obſtacle produces an effect contrary, yet analogous, to that of the exciting ſurface; for, abſorbing more or leſs the heat of the impinging wave, it diminiſhes proportionally the meaſure of intenſity or rarefaction; and the wave, ſo enfeebled, next ſuffers reflection. If the reflecting ſurface is an exact plane, the hot pulſes will preſerve the ſame mutual divergency; but if it has a ſuitable concavity, they will tend to ſome focus, and conſequently will again converge and unite their accumulated power. In thus concentrating themſelves, their heat or dilatation, collected into a narrow ſpace, muſt have its intenſity, or its temperature,

temperature, in a correſponding degree augmented. But the reflection of thoſe pulſes is not performed with geometrical accuracy; it is affected by a certain ſmall aberration, ariſing, as was ſhown, from the limited velocity of ſound. And ſuch reſult accords perfectly with obſervation. I need ſcarcely remark, that the ſame mode of argument will converſely apply to the partial abſorption, and the ſubſequent reflection, of cold pulſes.' p. 245—46.

But how are the very different effects of different bodies in projecting and abſorbing heat to be explained? Mr Leſlie maintains, that the difference is entirely owing to their various degrees of contact with the ſurrounding air. Glaſs, he thinks, has a much cloſer contact with the atmoſphere than metals; and a rough ſurface takes a firmer hold of the air than a ſmooth one. Therefore, the pulſations will be much ſtronger when given to the air by ſurfaces which touch it more cloſely; and, in like manner, the air will communicate its heat more eaſily to the ſame bodies, by coming nearer them in its progreſs. We ſee, then, that, according to this theory, a heated body firſt creates a pulſation in the ſurrounding atmoſphere, in proportion to its proximity,—and next diſcharges the heat along with the pulſation; or the heat firſt makes a wave, and then is carried off by it. But there are two other modes in which heat is diſcharged from a body; theſe are perfectly diſtinct from pulſation, and follow different laws.

The firſt mode is peculiar to fluids. When a body is ſurrounded by a medium, whether liquid or aëriform, of a different temperature, the contiguous particles draw off, or give out a portion of heat, according as they are colder or hotter than the body. A motion in the particles of the fluid is thus produced. New ones, in ſucceſſion, apply themſelves to the ſurface of the body, and either carry off a part of its heat, or leave a portion of their own, until the equilibrium is reſtored. A variety of familiar examples prove the exiſtence of this kind of communication. No fact is more frequently noticed than the refrigeration of bodies by currents of cold air. But it deſerves to be aſcertained how far this proceſs is affected by the nature of the body expoſed to the fluid, and what relation ſubſiſts between the difference of their temperatures, and the communication of heat from the one to the other. Theſe points Mr Leſlie inveſtigated by judicious experiments. The progreſs of hot water in cooling from 35° to 25° was carefully obſerved, firſt, when the fluid was contained in a hollow globe of poliſhed tin, and then when the ſame globe was coated with lamp-black. The pigment nearly doubled the velocity of refrigeration. But the different powers of the two ſurfaces in cooling by pulſation, are diſcovered from the

the former experiments;—hence, it is found, that ſome other influence muſt be exerted, which does not operate ſo differently in the two caſes; for, inſtead of cooling eight times ſlower than the painted globe, the poliſhed one only cools twice as ſlow. The ſame experiment being repeated in a current of air, the rates of cooling approached ſtill nearer to equality. In a gentle gale, the times were 44 minutes and 35 minutes reſpectively; in a ſtrong breeze, $23'$ and $20\frac{1}{4}'$; and, in a violent wind, $9\frac{1}{4}'$ and $9'$. We may therefore conclude, that the communication of heat which is produced by its abſorption and retreat in the moving fluid that ſurrounds, does not depend at all on the qualities of the body expoſed to the fluid. When the experiment juſt now deſcribed is repeated with water at a temperature conſiderably higher, and in a calm atmoſphere, the difference between the rates of cooling is much leſs than before. The clear ball took $15\frac{1}{2}$ minutes to cool from 92° to 82°; the painted ball $10\frac{1}{2}$ minutes: and it is eaſily inferred from theſe experiments, that, at low temperatures, the effect of motion in the ſurrounding medium, is leſs than the effect of its pulſations, but at high temperatures greater. When ſimilar experiments are made upon the cooling of bodies immerſed in water, the reſults confirm the former concluſions. The clear and the painted balls loſt their heat preciſely with the ſame degree of celerity; for here there was no pulſatory diſcharge at all; and the rate of cooling diminiſhed, as the difference between the temperature of the balls and that of the ſurrounding water decreaſed. It was found, too, that hot water carries off the heat of the body immerſed in it, much more rapidly than cold. Mr Leſlie further endeavoured to aſcertain the proportion between the paſſage of heat and the velocity of the current which plays upon the body. He gave the ball a calculable motion through the air, either by whirling it at the end of a long cord, or walking ſwiftly with it, round a given circle. From the medium of a number of trials, he infers that the influence of the current is nearly as its velocity; and hence he deduces a very ſimple method of meaſuring the rate at which the wind or a ſtream of water moves. By a very elaborate proceſs of reaſoning, which our limits prevent us from analyzing, he is led to the following explanation of the manner in which the proceſs of refrigeration is accelerated by the motion of the ſurrounding air and water.

The whole turns on two capital points: 1. The ſeveral filaments of the current are gently diverted, and made to ply along the ſurface of the body with undiminiſhed celerity, till they finally launch off and reſume their flight from the farther ſide: and, 2. Each portion of fluid that grazes againſt the obſtacle, whatever might

be

be its original force of impulſion, only ſweeps a certain limited ſpace, and then mingles in the general maſs; during which contact, it muſt likewiſe abſtract its ſhare of heat, and, if it ſhould come to touch again, it has in the interval diſperſed its charge, and is fitted, therefore, to repeat the ſame impreſſion. Hence the frequency of contact, and conſequently the refrigerating power of the ſtream, is proportional to its appulſive velocity. If we conceive the ſurface of the body to be divided by a multitude of circumſcribing lines, extremely near each other, yet equidiſtant; the total quantity of contact will be as the ſum of theſe lines: but the whole extent of ſurface itſelf is obviouſly equal to the rectangle of that aggregate line, and the common breadth of ſuch elementary zones. Thus, the influence of a current of fluid in cooling a body of any ſhape, however irregular, if not terminated by numerous and abrupt aſperities, is proportional merely to the ſurface. The combined refrigerating action is, conſequently, in the compound ratio of the ſurface and the velocity of impulſe; and this theoretical deduction was found to be perfectly confirmed by obſervation.' p. 309–11.

There is yet a mode of conveying heat diſtinct both from the pulſations peculiar to elaſtic media, and the motions common both to aqueous and aeriform fluids. By a computation of the ſhare which each of the circumſtances formerly deſcribed has in the communication of heat, our author finds that there is ſtill a deficiency of action, and that about $\frac{1}{180}$th part of the heat given out in a ſecond by a body cooling from 8° down to 1°, remains unaccounted for. This he aſcribes to the conducting power which air has in common with all bodies, though entirely at reſt. The property is ſuſceptible of a much more unequivocal exemplification, we apprehend, than our author has given in any of his experiments. The motions which produce the regreſſive diſcharge of heat, as he terms it, may eaſily be prevented. In experiments with ſuſpended balls, indeed, a current will always be occaſioned, whether the body is colder or hotter than the ſurrounding fluid. But if a heated flat ſurface be expoſed to a column of air confined in a tube, and turned downwards, ſo that the ſurface ſhall give out its heat to the fluid below, no current whatever can be produced; the particles of air, as they are heated, will float on the top, and remain next the ſurface, which will thus ſend off its heat only by pulſation, and the conducting power of the air. But in whatever way the exertion of this power may be aſcertained, or its action meaſured, we have ſufficient ground for admitting it; and may conclude, in general, that heat is carried from a body in three ways; by means of the pulſations which, according to Mr Leſlie, it excites in elaſtic fluids; by means of the motions, however excited, in fluids both aqueous and aëriform; by means of the attraction which all bodies, liquid, gaſeous and ſolid, have for it, though their particles are at reſt.

Having

Having now given a ſtatement of this theory, we are to examine how far it is conſiſtent with, or warranted by the facts adduced in its ſupport. In the courſe of our analyſis, it may be remarked, that we have given an account of all Mr Leſlie's experimental diſcoveries, as well as of thoſe ſpeculations which we feel ourſelves obliged to oppoſe. We have only paſſed over the matter not immediately relating to the doctrine of heat, and ſome of the more diffuſive corollaries which he has deduced from his general poſitions, our object being to exhibit a conciſe and connected view of his theory of the propagation of heat, in whatever parts of his work it may be found.

In the *firſt* place, we apprehend there is a great and radical confuſion of ideas in the leading propoſition of Mr Leſlie, that heat cauſes a vibration or pulſe in the ſurrounding air, and is then carried along with that vibration. If the two fluids, the heat and the gas, are elaſtic, as he uniformly deſcribes them, the one by impinging on the other muſt be made to reſile, according to the common laws of motion, with a velocity equal to that which it has excited. The heat cannot therefore be accelerated in its paſſage through the air, by any concuſſion which it has given to that medium. If the affinity of the air for heat prevents the latter from reſiling at the firſt ſtroke, it remains to ſettle the account between the mechanical repulſion and elective attraction of the two bodies, which our author has nowhere attempted to do. But even though ſome ſuch rough, vague aſſumption were permitted, no reaſon could be aſſigned for the pulſation carrying on the heat, and then giving it up to ſome other body. The elective attraction, which was ſo ſtrong as to overcome the reſiliency of the heat at firſt, muſt be ſufficiently powerful to counteract its motion in the direction of pulſation, and to retain it in the air. For if it required this affinity to prevent the heat from reſiling, the motion of the heat can be no other than the motion of the air; the inertia of both muſt be the ſame; and they muſt ſtop or be reflected together. Nor can any affinity of the heat, for a body ſituated at the farther extremity of the vibration, be admitted to explain its quitting the air: the affinity of the heat for the air formerly overcame its affinity for the body at the firſt extremity, as well as its own reaction after the impulſe.

Secondly, The vibration excited by the heat itſelf in a quieſcent medium, can never increaſe its own tendency to fly off from the body; for ſurely no one ever imagined, that the velocity of any moving body could be augmented, by being communicated to another body. It remains, therefore, to ſhew by what poſſibility heat ſhould move with greater celerity, after expending part of

its force in moving the ſurrounding air. Nor can we conceive in what Mr Leſlie ſuppoſes the original impulſe given by the heat to conſiſt. If it is merely a conſequence of the heat's elaſticity, the preſſure of the ſurrounding medium muſt repreſs, inſtead of promoting it. If the preſſure of the air is requiſite to draw off the heat, how does the latter give its impulſive ſhock? If the heat can ſtrike the air at all, it muſt have that impulſive tendency, whether the air is preſent or not; and muſt fly off more eaſily through a vacuum, than along a wave, which it has itſelf expended part of its motion in exciting.

But, *thirdly*, what is the real meaning of a vibration propagated through an elaſtic medium? And how can it poſſibly aſſiſt the motion of any extraneous body whatever? Our author has rejected the idea of currents;—his pulſations are mere impulſes ſent through the particles of the gaſeous fluid. Now, we can annex no meaning to ſuch pulſations, but that of particles tending to move, and prevented from moving by thoſe before them; which are in like manner ſtopped; and ſo on, until the tendency reaches ſome particles not oppoſed by any obſtacle. But it is obvious, that this vibratory ſtate, into which the particles of the medium are thrown, can never affect in the ſmalleſt degree the motion of any body placed at the beginning of the line. If the particles move along in a ſtream, we can imagine the heat being carried with them; but if they remain at reſt, and if only an impulſe is propagated through them, which makes the laſt particle alone move, it is impoſſible to conceive how the heat can be carried along by this means from the firſt to the laſt. It muſt, if it moves through them, move by ſome force of its own, not by any tendency to move, which it has impreſſed upon them: And this puts an end to the uſe of the vibration. We cannot help thinking, that the very ingenious and learned author of the theory under conſideration has been miſled by the analogy of ſound. Indeed, his language all along conveys the idea, that there is ſomething in ſound, ſeparate from the motion of the air. He talks as if ſound had a real exiſtence, and was a ſubſtance which, like heat or light, moved through the atmoſphere. Now, it is obvious, that when we ſpeak of ſound being propagated through the ſurrounding medium, we only mean to deſcribe certain vibrations which are excited by the percuſſion of that medium, and communicated from it to the ear; in other words, we only mean to ſay that the air is ſtruck, and ſtrikes the organ of hearing. Nothing whatever is conveyed by the vibration. To ſay that the impulſe is carried, means only that the particles of the air are ſucceſſively impelled; and to ſay that the impulſe carries any thing along with it, is an unintelligible propoſition ariſing from the inaccurate

accurate language uſed in deſcribing the communication of motion.

Fourthly, Our author all along aſſerts, that his theory of pulſations reſts upon a ſtrict induction; and deſcribes the doctrine of radiation as deduced from an imperfect knowledge of facts, and refuted by his experiments. We can by no means aſſent to theſe propoſitions. Mr Leſlie's experiments prove that a communication of heat takes place between bodies at a diſtance, according to laws different from thoſe which regulate the diſcharge by contact. We can find nothing more proved by his whole induction. It is true, that water being interpoſed between the hot and cold body, prevented the communication. But this does not prove that the preſenee of air was eſſential to the paſſage of the heat: it only demonſtrates that the contact of water interrupted the paſſage; and ſo did any ſolid ſubſtance interpoſed, and filling up the ſpace between the two bodies. In theſe caſes no heat was communicated, according to the laws by which it is transferred through a gaſeous medium. But in order to prove that this medium was eſſential in the proceſs, it muſt firſt be ſhewn that the removal or extreme rarefaction of it prevents the paſſage of heat. The experiments of Mr Leſlie, formerly analyzed, afford no evidence of this; but the cooling of a thermometer in vacuo, as quickly as in the air, has been long known; and forms indeed the ſubject of a famous query in Sir Iſaac Newton's Optics. Now, the preſence of the air muſt certainly aſſiſt the diſcharge of heat, by means of what Mr Leſlie terms *regreſſion*, or by the ſucceſſive flight of the heated particles; and it muſt likewiſe aid the proceſs by means of what he calls *abduction*, or the attraction of heat from one particle to another without motion, if there be any truth in his experiments upon theſe points. The removal of the air, therefore, or its great rarefaction, ſhould retard the progreſs of cooling very conſiderably, in ſo far as regreſſion and abduction are concerned. But the total effect of the exhauſtion upon the proceſs is ſcarcely perceivable: wherefore it is manifeſt, that the rarefaction of the air has greatly increaſed the only other diſcharge,—that which Mr Leſlie denominates *pulſatory*. Although, however, we meet with no experiments upon the pulſatory diſcharge through a vacuum, in the firſt branch of the Inquiry, our author, after his theory is laid down, and under a different head, introduces ſome which are extremely deciſive againſt him. In the receiver of an air-pump he placed a caniſter filled with heated oil, and below it, at ſome diſtance, a reflector, with a differential thermometer in the focus. The liquor ſtood at 100° in the air; but upon rarefying the air 64 times, it roſe to 132°. Now, ſays Mr Leſlie, this is only an ap-

parent increase of pulsation; for the rarefaction of the air retarded the cooling of the thermometer's bulb, in the proportion, he calculates, of 1 to .6157. Consequently, the total rise should have been 162½°, had the pulsatory discharge been the same; and as it is only 132°, he infers that the pulsation is reduced in the proportion of 162½ to 132. But in a question which goes to the foundations of his theory, Mr Leslie ought not to have rested satisfied with an equivocal experiment, when he could so easily put the matter beyond doubt by a simple variation of it. The cooling of the thermometer introduces other actions besides pulsation, which renders the result unsatisfactory. By observing the refrigeration of a clear and blackened canister, first in the filled, and then in the exhausted receiver, it was easy to perceive whether the difference of their discharges was increased or diminished by the rarefaction; and this difference is proportional not to the total loss of heat, or to the regressive and abductive process, but only to the pulsatory action. But taking Mr Leslie's experiment as it is, we conceive no doubt can be entertained that it is repugnant to his theory. A rarefaction of 64 times, only diminishes the pulsatory action as 162 to 132, even admitting his calculation of the abductive power; and, according to his table in p. 486, a rarefaction of above a thousand times should only bring down the pulsatory energy of glass from 57 to 40 in common air, and from 57 to 45 in hydrogenous gas. Can it be imagined, that the action of the aëriform fluid is the cause of this communication of heat, when so very trifling a change is produced by diminishing its density a thousand times? Besides, there are two circumstances wholly omitted in the calculation, which more than account for this trifling change, even were we to allow its reality. The thermometer, being placed not more than seven inches from the canister, must have been affected by its direct heat conducted through the air; and the bulb, in giving out the reflected heat, was subject to the change that took place in the pulsatory as well as in the abductive process, from the rarefaction.—The incongruity of this experiment with his theory, appears indeed to have struck Mr Leslie himself. He alludes to it in the last page of the Inquiry, admits the difficulty of the case, and breaks off in the middle of a paragraph, after attempting an explanation, the most lame and gratuitous that we ever remember to have seen introduced, for the purpose of reconciling a fact with an hypothesis. 'The centres of pulsatory action,' says he, 'are in every case so widely scattered, that they suffer but little derangement from the progress of rarefaction. The intervals of separation continue nearly the same; only the interjacent and inefficient particles are gradually removed.'

Lastly,

Laſtly, We can diſcover no advantages which the theory of pulſation has over that of radiation, in explaining the different projective, abſorbent, and reflective powers of different bodies. Nothing can be more gratuitous than the aſſumption, that the bodies which abſorb and project moſt ſtrongly have a cloſer contact with the atmoſphere. The reaſons urged by our author, to prove that glaſs touches air more nearly than metals, are quite inconcluſive, beſides being peculiar to glaſs, and leaving the ſtronger caſe of lamp-black unexplained.—Thus, a glaſs bottle, when cracked, coheres more ſtrongly than a metal one. This only ſhews that the ſides of the fracture are ſmoother; or, at any rate, that the attraction of glaſs for glaſs is ſtronger than that of metal for metal. Again, a cold glaſs precipitates moiſture from the air. But ſo does a cold metal; and, admitting that the former did ſo in a greater degree, this would only prove its affinity for moiſture, or its power of conducting heat to be greater.—Then we cannot imagine by what miſtake Mr Leſlie has allowed himſelf to conſider the roughening or ſtriating of a ſurface as a means of increaſing its contact with the air. We ſhall not here retort upon him his own aſſumption of the diſtance between the centres of vibratory action, although it would apply with rather more conſiſtency in the preſent caſe, than in the explanation of the experiment on rarefied air. We ſhall reſt ſatisfied with obſerving, that the limits of contact between the ſurface and the air muſt remain preciſely the ſame, whatever be the projections of the ſurface. When it is ſtriated, Mr Leſlie talks of parts protruding themſelves into the air. Nothing can be more looſe and inaccurate. Some parts are indented or removed; and the line which bounds the body, is a waving, inſtead of a ſtraight one. But the air cannot ſurely be more remote from the ſide or bottom of the cavities than the convexities.—All the difficulties, therefore, which our author's important diſcovery throws in the way of the theory of radiation, apply equally to his own hypotheſis of pulſation. Neither the one nor the other throw any light upon the curious facts which his experiments have diſcloſed: but the doctrine of radiant heat is preferable to that of pulſation, becauſe it aſſumes nothing; is not contradictory to the phenomena, although it fails to arrange them; and only announces a fact, of which no doubt can exiſt, that heat, when it is not interrupted, paſſes between diſtinct bodies, and is capable of tranſmiſſion, abſorption, and reflection.—The diſcoveries of Mr Leſlie, then, are extremely valuable, in our opinion, not becauſe they have led him to any juſt theory upon the propagation of heat, but becauſe they have enlarged our knowledge of the facts upon which a true ſyſtem may hereafter be founded.

Nor are theſe the only ſervices which his labours have rendered to phyſical ſcience. The experiments upon the connexion between heat and light, are equally elegant and original; and we proceed briefly to exhibit a view of them, together with the general remarks which they have ſuggeſted.

We ſtated, in a former part of our analyſis, that Mr Leſlie laid down the identity of light and heat as quite indiſputable, though without adducing any new proofs of it. Light, he obſerves, is extremely ſubtle, powerfully elaſtic, or ſelf-repellent, and endued with a ſtrong attraction for other bodies. When theſe are expoſed to its action, they become heated in exact proportion to the quantities they have abſorbed. Therefore, he concludes, heat is only light in a ſtate of combination. But there are two facts repugnant to this propoſition;—the reduction of metallic oxydes, and the extrication of oxygenous gas from plants, by the influence of light. Theſe difficulties our author does not think very formidable. Heat reduces oxydes to a certain degree; and he aſcribes the ſuperior efficacy of light, in this proceſs, to ſome impulſions which it gives to the particles of the abſorbing body, and which he compares to the exploſion of fulminating mercury or ſilver by a ſlight blow. The effects of light on plants he attributes to a ſtimulus, neceſſary perhaps to their health. Now, all this is very looſe and unſatisfactory. If the combination of light with bodies transforms it into heat, the combination of heat with bodies ſhould produce the very ſame compound: yet we find that a wide difference is perceivable; and that all the heat of a blackſmith's forge will not extricate as much oxygenous gas as the application of a portion of light too weak to produce any heat whatever by abſorption. The ſuppoſition of light acting by impulſe, is perfectly gratuitous. We are not at liberty to aſſume the ſenſible momentum of light for a particular purpoſe; and all the agitation in the world will never decompound oxydes and acids, which yield their oxygen at the ſlighteſt application of light. The exploſion of fulminating powders is not a mere reduction; and it is effected by heat exactly as much as by impulſe—probably by the latter only in ſo far as it produces heat. The aſſumption, that light acts as a ſtimulus on plants, is equally gratuitous;—nay, it proceeds on a ſuppoſition that they are living creatures; than which, nothing can be more unphiloſophical. Our author, then, has not proved that light is combined heat. Indeed, the tenor of his diſcoveries reſpecting the motion of heat, places the ſpecific diverſity of the two ſubſtances in a much ſtronger point of view than before. But his experiments on the connexion between them are extremely

tremely valuable, provided we keep in mind the deficiency of the hypothesis by which they are combined.

The differential thermometer formerly described, measures, with great nicety, the minute variations in the temperature of two portions of air. Both its bulbs are, however, equally affected by light; but if one of them be rendered less transparent than the other—if it be covered with a black coating, for example; it will be heated in proportion to the light which it absorbs, and the expansion of the internal air will cause the liquor in the opposite tube to rise. This variety of the differential thermometer constitutes Mr Leslie's celebrated *photometer*—'an instrument,' he observes, 'which, by successive improvements, has at length acquired that simplicity, if not elegance of form, which seem to mark the limit of perfection.' p. 404. It is, in fact, the differential thermometer, with one ball enamelled black;—it is fixed in a stand, and covered with a glass case, to prevent the disturbing effects of the agitations in the air;—and its two tubes are, for the sake of greater convenience, made of different lengths, so that the one bulb is above the other, and a narrower case is sufficient to enclose the whole. But, in nice experiments, where it is not required to be very portable, the bulbs are bent outwards on the same line, and covered with a sphere of very clear glass fixed to the extremity of a cylinder. The coloured liquor found to answer best, after various trials, was sulphuric acid tinged with carmine. The instrument, thus constructed, evidently measures the heat caused by the incident light. A part is stopped in passing through the glass-case, and a part reflected by the black bulb; but these combined deficiencies, our author does not estimate at more than a tenth of the whole incident light; and, at any rate, as they must be the same in all experiments, they do not affect the relative measures. The sensibility of the photometer is capable of being considerably increased by enclosing its black bulb in a series of concentric glass spheres, or segments of spheres joined together: for these permit the light to pass without much obstruction; but they greatly impede the subsequent dispersion of the heat. And the other bulb remaining at the temperature of the external air, a greater difference is thus produced between the heats of the two bulbs, when the same quantity of light is thrown upon them. The inferior segments, by which the dark bulb is surrounded, may be of thin metal, painted black; and this still further increases the difference. With three glass spheres, whose diameters are 4, $5\frac{1}{5}$ and $7\frac{1}{5}$ inches, the sensibility of the photometer is augmented nearly four times. When the under surface is metallic, the increase of sensibility is near five times. The heat of parallel rays may be measured with still greater nicety by means of

a reflector in the focus of which the black bulb is fixed, with a concave plate of glaſs incaſing it, and joined to the rim of the reflector. With a reflector of three feet diameter and ten inches deep, encloſing a black ball three quarters of an inch diameter, an augmentation of 2204 times would be procured, which our author thinks ſufficient to exhibit a riſe of one degree in the light of the moon.

It is eaſy to perceive that this very elegant form of experiment is applicable to the inveſtigation of many points exceedingly intereſting to the phyſical inquirer. Our author has rather ſketched an outline of ſuch inquiries, than purſued them at any great length. The ſenſibility of the photometer, he found, even in its ordinary conſtruction, detected the calorific effects of light, where, for want of accurate inſtruments, it had formerly been ſuppoſed imperceptible. The light of the ſky during ſummer may amount, in this climate, to 30 or 40 degrees; during winter, to 10 or 15. It is ſmalleſt when the clouds are black, and when there are no clouds at all;—greateſt when they are white and fleecy. On drawing the inſtrument away from the window, it falls rapidly, as the viſual angle of the window decreaſes. It ſtands at about two degrees in the light which is pleaſant to read by. Placed, in a winter day, ſucceſſively over ploughed land, brown graſs, ſmooth ſand, and ſnow, it ſtood at 24°, 30°, 33°, and 44° reſpectively. The photometer meaſures tranſparency with great accuracy. Of 100 parts of incident light, cambric tranſmits 80, and, if wetted, 93; vellum paper 49, if oiled, 80; thin poſt 62, if oiled, 86. It likewiſe meaſures the ſtrength of artificial lights. A wax candle burned twice as bright as a tallow candle; and the light of both decreaſed in the inverſe duplicate ratio of their diſtance from the inſtrument. The calorific effect of the light from a dull red coal fire, is one third greater than that of a bright wax candle; that of the ſun is 12,000 times greater. No effect whatever is produced by the light of the moon; but by trying at what diſtance from the candle a ſmall printed book could be read, which was barely legible in the moonſhine, our author computed that the light of that planet is 150,000 times weaker than the ſun's light at equal altitudes. The calorific effects of the different homogeneous rays, are eaſily compared, by expoſing the photometer to the priſmatic ſpectrum. It is found to be affected by the rays nearly in the duplicate ratio of their diſtance from the moſt refrangible, when the ſeparation is made by a priſm of flint glaſs. And in noticing theſe chromatic experiments, our author takes occaſion to urge his objections to Dr Herſchel's theory of dark rays, which he conceives to be only the faint light proceeding from the clouds in the neighbourhood

of

of the ſun. The Inquiry concludes with a courſe of experiments on the conducting powers of different gaſes, and of the ſame gas in different degrees of condenſation, as aſcertained by help of the photometer. Carbonic acid gas carries off heat from glaſs an eighth part ſlower; from metals, a fourth part ſlower than common air. Azotic and oxygenous gas do not differ ſenſibly from common air in this reſpect. Hydrogenous gas doubles the expenditure of heat from glaſs, and quadruples its diſcharge from metals. We have already had occaſion to conſider the effects of rarefaction on the conducting powers of the medium.

We perfectly agree with Mr Leſlie in thinking the photometer an inſtrument of ſingular elegance and utility. But we muſt be permitted to expreſs a doubt with reſpect both to its theory and application.

In the *firſt* place, we cannot conſider the menſuration of light, or illumination, as the primary office of this ingenious machine. The identity of light and heat, Mr Leſlie has not only failed to demonſtrate, but has himſelf contributed, by his diſcoveries, to diſprove. That light poſſeſſes a heating power, no one can deny; and the degrees in which this power is exerciſed by different lights, are moſt admirably meaſured by the photometer. It is an exquiſite thermometer; but it utterly fails as an engine for comparing the quantities or intenſities of light. Indeed, what can more diſtinctly prove this, than ſome of Mr Leſlie's own experiments with the inſtrument? The dull red light from a coal fire affected it more than the bright flame of a wax-candle: and though the dim and ſcattered illumination of the ſky raiſed it many degrees, the light of the moon, however concentrated, had not the ſmalleſt effect upon it. To ſay that the photometer is a better teſt of illumination than the organ of ſight, and that the clouds in reality give more light than the moon, though our ſenſes decide otherwiſe, is not anſwering the queſtion, but begging it. A thouſand facts concur to prove, that illumination exiſts ſeparate from heat, and that bodies give out light ſo as to affect our organs of viſion moſt ſenſibly, without exciting any heat whatever. It is but an imperfect photometer which can only calculate the intenſity of light by means of the ſingle, ſeparable, and uneſſential quality which that body occaſionally poſſeſſes of heating the bodies it unites with. The photometer of Bouguer is, indeed, liable to the objection our author urges againſt it: little aſſiſtance is gained from its operations in abridging the repetition of experiments, or giving an invariable ſtandard of meaſurement. But it is at leaſt ſo far a photometer, that it meaſures the illuminating, not the heating, power of light.

Secondly,

Secondly, Our author apparently has not conſidered a circumſtance which muſt limit the accuracy of the inſtrument, at leaſt for large ranges of action. When the rarefaction of the air in the black bulb is conſiderable, it will no longer expand in proportion to its acquiſitions of temperature, and the air in the oppoſite tube will be more and more compreſſed. Both theſe effects muſt operate in preventing the motion of the red liquor from obſerving the proportion of the heat acquired; and an equal additon of temperature, after a riſe of twenty or thirty degrees, will evidently not repeat that riſe through the next interval.

We have now brought to a cloſe our examination of this important treatiſe. Nothing remains but to expreſs once more our deep ſenſe of the ſervices which it has already rendered to ſcience, and our ſanguine hopes of ſtill greater benefits from a diligent purſuit of the views which it diſcloſes. We truſt that the author will be ſtimulated to new exertions, by the high rewards which have already crowned his labours; and ſhall ſcarcely be more gratified by any novelty in the literary world, than by the appearance of a ſecond part of the 'Experimental Inquiry.' Before concluding, we muſt be indulged with a remark upon the ſtyle of writing into which Mr Leſlie has fallen,—the only part of his performance where we find nothing to admire. A few ſpecimens have already been given; but every page preſents abundance of faults equally glaring, both in point of accuracy and taſte. He is perpetually introducing theoretical terms which he has never defined; and even coining phraſes, the meaning of which the reader muſt gueſs from the context. The language is figurative upon matters of pure ſcience; and not only the tone, but frequently the very imagery of poetry is blended with abſtract demonſtration. The effect is extremely unpleaſant to the ſcientific reader.—In a dry argument upon the attrition of bodies by a ſyſtem of inclined planes, we are told that 'the labours of Siſyphus are realized in the phenomena of friction.' p. 302. A rule-of-three proportion is to be ſtated between certain points, and a maſs of air in which they are placed; but our author thinks it better to ſtop the calculus in order to call theſe points '*rari nantes in gurgite vaſto*;' which portion of ſong he judiciouſly interpoſes between the firſt and ſecond members of the ratio. p. 258. Diſcourſing of photometry, he exclaims, 'What a prodigious difference betwen the fierce rays of a meridian ſun, and the feeble beams of the ſilver moon—between the offenſive glare of noon-tide day, and the faint glimmer of expiring twilight!' p. 220. Of light, which is introduced as an object of mathematical diſcuſſion, we are informed, that

that 'it is the emblem and perpetual fountain of almoſt every joy and comfort that ſweetens this feveriſh ſtate of exiſtence;'—'the Proteus of the material world, unceaſingly varying its force and changing its fugacious forms;' with a whole page in the like ſtrain. p. 439. Even in demonſtrating the properties of lines from a diagram, our author muſt be figurative. In p. 194. & 195, he talks of B C *ſympathizing* with C D; the rectangles B Q and C L *melting* into the ſingle rectangle B S; the *compoſite units of the chain*, &c. All this, it muſt be confeſſed, is but ſorry poetry; and it certainly does not appear to greater advantage when ſurrounded by the dry materials of a purely ſcientific inquiry. Nor will any conqueſts which Mr Leſlie's diſcoveries are fated to gain over the prejudices of the world, be much more arduous than their victory over the prepoſſeſſions ſo conſtantly excited by the language in which he has delivered them.

ART. V. *Hints towards forming the Character of a young Princeſs.* In two Volumes. London: Cadell & Davies. 1805.

IF we had been aſked in what reſpect the education of the young Princeſs, alluded to in the foregoing title, ſhould differ from that of other young ladies of high rank, we ſhould have anſwered, juſt in as much as her ſituation in life may probably require the poſſeſſion of knowledge and attainments, not uſually deemed neceſſary to other accompliſhed females. A Princeſs, who may be deſtined to fill the throne where an Elizabeth reigned with ſo much glory, may be expected to bring a mind there, imbued with ſomething more than the refinements of elegance, and characterized by bolder energies than are commonly found in perſons of her ſex. Good ſenſe, however, will not contend againſt the dictates of nature and the prevalence of cuſtom, by omitting altogether thoſe accompliſhments, and that kind of inſtruction, which are generally ſuppoſed to belong in a peculiar degree to female education. The exalted perſon, of whom we ſpeak, (ſhould ſhe eventually wear the crown), ought not to be ſo much a woman as to forget that ſhe is a queen, nor ſo much a queen as to forget that ſhe is a woman.

The author of the work before us has been at great pains to obviate the objections which he ſeems to fear may be made againſt it as preſumptuous and unbecoming. We confeſs, we can ſee nothing unbecoming, or indecorous, in his having diſcuſſed a queſtion which is undoubtedly of great national concern. Thoſe perſons, who have undertaken the education of the Princeſs, are reſponſible

reſponſible not to a few individuals only, but to the community at large. Every ſubject of the realm has an intereſt in the formation of that character, upon which the ſplendour of the crown and the proſperity of the country may in a conſiderable degree depend.

In a work which profeſſes only to offer hints towards forming the character, we are not, perhaps, entitled to expect that ſtrict obobſervance of method and order, which might be neceſſary in a detailed plan of education. If the author had undertaken to draw the whole ſcheme, it would have been incumbent on him to have filled up all the parts, to have marked the various diviſions of intellectual labour, and to have aſſigned to each kind of ſtudy its proper place, and its due importance. The object of the work before us is only to throw light on ſingle ſpots, and to point them out to the particular attention of thoſe, who are preſumed to have already conſidered a general ſyſtem of education for the young Princeſs. Theſe hints, however, ought to have been ſo arranged and diſtributed, as to fall eaſily into their proper places, when examined by thoſe who had an extended and regular plan in their minds, and who, by reſorting to general principles, could have quickly claſſed each topic under its peculiar head. We have to regret, that among many excellent obſervations contained in the volumes before us, there are alſo many, which not only appear to us to be erroneous, but extraneous and foreign to the ſubject. Tranſitions are made abruptly from one ſubject to another; and the imagination of the reader is frequently embarraſſed in endeavouring to diſcover the aſſociations which have ſecretly connected the thoughts of the author. Recommendations to inſtruct a young Princeſs in the duties of a Sovereign, are made to introduce eſſays on the laws and governments of Greece and Rome;—ſuggeſtions concerning the moſt proper mode of ſtudying hiſtory, are followed by long declamations on the excellence of the Chriſtian religion;—and, leſt the Right Reverend Preceptor of her Royal Highneſs ſhould not be aware of it, Hume and Voltaire are carefully pointed out as two wicked infidels, who did not believe in the Holy Scriptures. Diſquiſitions on ſubjects of divinity, indeed, are brought in upon almoſt every topic; and the zeal of the author betrays him ſometimes into error, and ſometimes into extravagance.

We ſhall now proceed to a more particular examination of this work; and if we ſhould make objections to various opinions contained in it, we ſhall ſtill be ready to allow, that it merits the attention both of the public, and of thoſe to whom it is more peculiarly addreſſed.

After having ſhewn the importance of ſowing the ſeeds of the moral virtues from the firſt dawn of intelligence, the author turns

with

with propriety to the conſideration of thoſe exerciſes which are beſt ſuited to the juvenile mind. 'Infancy,' ſays Quintilian, 'has its own ſtudies.' That period is paſt with the young Princeſs; and the time is now come to adorn her mind with what is elegant, and to ſtore it with what is uſeful. The ſpring of life is already advancing. We watch it with anxiety, and hail its fair promiſes with hope. That hint is ſurely a judicious one, which ſuggeſts, that little time ought to be loſt in teaching her, who may govern an empire, the trivial accompliſhments, which can ſerve at beſt to amuſe the leiſure of women of rank. We wiſh not to hear that ſhe gives to muſic and to painting the time which ſhe ſhould employ in ſtudying how to reign. But, for the very ſame reaſons, we ſhould not rejoice to be told, that ſhe was profoundly ſkilled in chemiſtry, botany, and zoology; that ſhe underſtood mineralogy, and was already decided in favour of the Wernerian ſyſtem; that ſhe managed a ſyllogiſm with the addreſs of a practiſed dialectician; or that ſhe defined her words with the accuracy of an expert grammarian. She ſhould indeed be taught, that it is glorious for a ſovereign to protect the arts and ſciences; but let her not forget the duties of a Queen, in order to emulate Artiſts, or diſpute with Profeſſors.

With reſpect to the learned languages, we do not quite agree with the author. If Latin is to be taught, why ſhould Greek be diſpenſed with? It is ſaid that many of our words are derived from the Latin, and that it is neceſſary to be inſtructed in that language in order to be acquainted with etymology. A knowledge of the Greek language muſt, upon theſe principles, be equally indiſpenſable, ſince almoſt all our terms of ſcience are borrowed from it. Among modern languages, we cannot gueſs why High Dutch ſhould be preferred to Italian. For our parts, we would rather liſten to the nightingale than to the raven; nor can we think it neceſſary for a Princeſs of England to convulſe her organs of ſpeech for half-a-dozen years together, that ſhe may articulate at laſt the harſh and guttural dialect of Germany.

Concerning the ſtudy of geography, our author offers ſome very juſt, along with ſome very whimſical remarks. The effects of local ſituation upon the characters, the manners, and the laws of different nations, ought always to be pointed out to young perſons. It may not be ſo eaſy, however, to make a child underſtand completely how Judea was the moſt favourable poſition for the diſſemination of a new religion. We think, that the finger of a child would point at leaſt as readily either to Egypt, the native ſoil of ſo many ancient deities; or to Arabia, whence Iſlamiſm has been ſpread to the banks of the Ganges upon one ſide, and to the foot of Mount Atlas on the other.

Some

Some of the author's obſervations on the ſtudy of hiſtory are certainly deſerving of attention; and yet, we muſt confeſs, we were ſometimes ſtartled at his oddities and his prejudices. In the liſt of thoſe hiſtorical writers, whom in his ſeventh chapter he recommends to be read, whoſe merits he details, and who amount to about twenty in number, Rollin is placed before Thucydides and Xenophon; the life of St Louis by Joinville is mentioned immediately after Cæſar's Commentaries; much is ſaid about Biſhop Burnet and Lady Ruſſell, before we hear a word of Livy and Tacitus; and the name of the hiſtorian of the decline and fall of the Roman empire is omitted, without even a hint at his merits.

A whole chapter is employed in diſcuſſing the principles of Mr Hume. Perhaps the author thought that he pointed out, with ſufficient clearneſs, the connexion between this attack on our great Scotiſh philoſopher and his own ſubject, in the following words:

'He' (Mr Hume) 'aſcribes ſuch a ſlender ſuperiority to one religious ſyſtem above another, that the young reader, who does not come to the peruſal with his principles formed, will be in danger of thinking *that the Reformation was not worth contending for.*'

That muſt be, indeed, a very young reader, who does not ſoon ſee that the Reformation was well worth the ſtruggle which it coſt, and who does not admit the advantages which have accrued from it to this kingdom. Many are the baneful inſtitutions which it has tended to remove. Many are the falſe notions which it has extirpated. How greatly has it helped to diffuſe the light of reaſon, and how much has it contributed towards the reſtoration of true philoſophy! What neſts of vice and idleneſs were deſtroyed with the monaſteries! The Reformation put a ſtop to the unjuſt encroachments of the eccleſiaſtical on the civil power. It baniſhed for ever a thouſand ſuperſtitions. Through it, Great Britain ceaſed to be drained of its wealth by foreign prieſts; and the mendicants, who were fed from the tables of lazy monks and pampered abbots, have been ſucceeded by uſeful artizans and induſtrious labourers. Inſtead of convents, we now build manufactories; inſtead of the images of ſaints, we diſplay the contents of our warehouſes; and, inſtead of crowns of martyrdom, we hear of the laurels won by the brave defenders of their country's glory.

After having diſcuſſed the character of Mr Hume, the author turns to that of Queen Elizabeth. This is a topic which certainly belonged to his ſubject; and he has treated it with conſiderable ability. In the next chapter, there is a long and excellent diſſertation on the ſuperintending power of Providence. The author finds this a convenient opportunity for aſſerting the authenticity of the book of Daniel; and obſerves, that the prophecies contained in it amount to an irrefragable demonſtration that our religion is divine.

'One

'One of the most ancient,' says he, 'and most learned opposers of Revelation, is said to have denied the possibility of these prophecies having existed before the events. But we know they *did* exist, and no modern infidel *dares* to dispute it.'

The opposer of Revelation, here alluded to, we suppose to be Porphyry; this celebrated philosopher at least certainly pretended that the prophecies ascribed to Daniel were really written after the events, which they affected to predict, had taken place. It is possible that he might have been in some degree induced into this error by the Jews themselves, who then denied that Daniel was a prophet, and who, as we learn from St Jerome, ranked him only among the number of their *hagiographers*. There cannot, however, be a doubt, that the Jews, for a long period, either considered, or pretended to consider Daniel as a prophet. This is evident from Josephus. Their attempt, therefore, to degrade him, when the Christians pointed out certain texts in his writings, which foretold the coming and the death of the Messiah, betrayed at once their weakness and their falsehood. It seemed, indeed, to indicate, that this title of Prophet was given or withdrawn as best suited the purposes of priestcraft. It was with more plausibility at least, though with more inexcuseable malignity, that they charged their adversaries with having corrupted the original text, and with having inserted what was favourable to their own creed. Thus the Christians accused the Jews of fraud; the Jews recriminated on the Christians; and a Pagan philosopher, with the prejudice natural to his sect, hastily condemned them both. An antagonist so zealous might easily persuade himself to believe that these prophecies were precise only to a certain period; and that, with respect to futurity, they were sufficiently vague and indistinct. He might have suspected, as Origen indeed seems to have done, that numerous corruptions and interpolations had crept into the scriptures; and he might have supposed, that the Christians, like the Jews, could occasionally be guilty of pious frauds. In referring the production of these prophecies to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, he might have made allowance for subsequent emendations, alterations, and interpolations, both of Jews and Christians. He might have known, what has since been openly declared by Theodoret and Procopius, that the Jewish scribes added whatever they thought fit to the writings of their prophets. He might have heard of other forgeries, and of disputes among the forgers. We could more easily excuse the ancient philosopher for not believing that Jaddus interpreted the book of Daniel to Alexander the Great; that that monarch had received a visit in Macedon from the High Priest of Jerusalem, dressed in his pontifical robes; or that he, who wanted

wanted to arrogate to himſelf the title of the ſon of Jupiter, and who required divine honours to be paid to him, confeſſed, before his whole army, that he had at laſt found the true God among the Jews whom he had conquered. If the book of Daniel had been preſented to Ptolemy Philadelphus by the Seventy-two interpreters, it might have appeared ſtrange, that the king of Egypt ſhould have ſo liberally rewarded the Jews for announcing to him the future misfortunes of his family, and the ruin of his kingdom. Beſides, Porphyry might have been convinced, as many perſons are at the preſent day, that the Pentateuch only had been tranſlated into Greek by the order of Ptolemy. Theſe and other conſiderations might in that day have deceived the philoſopher. But we learn with pleaſure, from the author of the volumes before us, that all theſe ſtumbling blocks have been removed, and that no modern infidel *dares* to deny, that the prophecies of Daniel *did* exiſt before the events which they foretold.

With reſpect to the ſuperintending influence of Providence, we confeſs we are doubtful whether it be advantageous to enter into the ſubject very minutely with children. It is a topic which requires more reflection than they can give to it; and nothing is more dangerous than the unaſſiſted ſcepticiſm of early ignorance. The author of the Hints dwells at great length upon this moſt important ſubject, and recurs to it frequently. He talks of 'the providential hiſtory' of a country as if it were a denomination as familiar as military, eccleſiaſtical, or political. 'The reader,' ſays he, 'looks to little purpoſe over the eventful page of hiſtory, who does not accuſtom himſelf to mark therein the finger of the Almighty governing kings and kingdoms.' The reader, however, who concurs in all this, may ſtill poſſibly be ſtartled at the peruſal of the following ſentence. 'We ſee the violent paſſions *providentially* let looſe, when it was neceſſary for ſociety to be rouſed from a pernicious torpor.' Is it Providence, then, that lets looſe the guilty paſſions of the tyrant or the traitor, of the conqueror or the robber? Was it Providence that ſent a Catiline, a Nero, or a Robeſpierre, to ſcourge mankind out of a lethargy? Was the maſſacre of the Proteſtants under Charles the Ninth deſigned by Heaven to give a fillip to ſlumbering virtue? After the poet Æſchylus had laid the Furies ſnoring on the ſtage, in his ſtrange tragedy, it was neceſſary that he ſhould awaken them, leſt the audience ſhould have gone to ſleep too; but Æſchylus would probably have made a better play, if he had not brought the Furies on the ſtage at all; and we are not perſuaded that the great drama of human life could not be carried on without the aſſiſtance of thoſe violent paſſions which

which ſometimes ſo terribly agitate its ſcenes; nor, when real furies have diſturbed our repoſe, is it pleaſant to be told that they were *providentially* let looſe to poke their fire-brands in our faces. At all events, the moral government of the Deity, in ſo far as it may be thought to include the agency of the guilty and deteſtable paſſions, is a theme ſo full of difficulty, that we cannot help conſidering it as the height of imprudence to think of entering upon it with a child.

In the twelfth chapter, the author diſcourſes, with much judgment, of the diſtinguiſhing characters of Chriſtianity; and, in the thirteenth, of the Scripture evidences in favour of Revelation. There is only one paſſage, of which we think it neceſſary to take notice. 'In the Old Teſtament alone, during thoſe ages, was maintained that great truth, of there being *only one living and true God;* which, though now ſo univerſally acknowledged, was then unconceived by the politeſt nations, and moſt accompliſhed philoſophers.' If the author of the Hints meant to ſay, as it appears to us he did, that, previous to Chriſtianity, the Jews alone had conceived the truth of there being one only God, we are inclined to think that he is miſtaken. The Jews were, indeed, for a long period, the only people of antiquity, poſſeſſed of any kind of literature, who entertained no belief in a future ſtate. But the belief in a ſupreme and ſole God certainly was not confined to the little territory of Judea. In the arcane theology of Egypt, the unity of the Deity was acknowledged; nor was he adored as the God of any particular region, but as the eternal and omnipotent Governor of the univerſe. This appears from the teſtimony of Pagan authors, as well as from the Triſmegiſtic books, all of which are not to be deemed ſpurious. 'The Egyptians,' ſays Jamblichus, in his anſwers to the queſtions of Porphyry, 'believe, that before all beings and principles there exiſts one God,' &c.—Again, 'This God is above the world, immaterial, incorporeal, and ſupernatural, unbegotten, and indiviſible, manifeſted wholly from himſelf, and in himſelf,' &c.—Again, 'Infinite nature is governed by the Supreme Unity that is the cauſe of all things.' Even Jablonſki, in theſe later times, has done juſtice to the Egyptians on this point. 'Thoſe men,' he obſerves, 'who were moſt diſtinguiſhed for wiſdom among the Egyptians, acknowledged God to be a certain unbegotten eternal Spirit, prior to all things which exiſt, who created, preſerves, contains, pervades, and vivifies every thing; who is the Spirit of the univerſe, but the guardian and benefactor of men.' That the prieſts and philoſophers of Greece were not ignorant of the ſame truth, is not leſs evident. We may ſafely refer to ſome, at leaſt, of the Orphic Fragments; and in one of them, preſerved by Proclus, we find

it expressly declared, that 'there is one Power, one Deity, the great Governor of all things.' The verses which, according to Bishop Warburton, were sung in the Eleusinian Mysteries, contained the following passage. 'Pursue thy path rightly, and contemplate the King of the world. He is one, and of himself alone; and to that one all things have owed their being. He encompasses them. No mortal hath beheld him: but he sees every thing.' We have ventured slightly to vary from the Bishop's translation of this passage; but, in rendering it more literally from the Greek, we do not find it to be less sublime. Even the tragic poets have contributed to prove, that the unity of the Deity was acknowledged among the more enlightened of the Greeks. Sophocles has said, in some verses, which have been often cited by the Fathers from a tragedy now lost,—'There is, in reality, only one God, who made the heavens and the remote earth, the blue waves of the ocean, and the strength of the winds.' With respect to the philosophers of Greece, it would be difficult to deny that some of them, at least, were monotheists. That Pythagoras admitted the unity of the Deity, must be evident to those who have considered his philosophy: and his belief in monotheism is further attested, not only by the Eclectic philosophers, but in distinct terms by Justin and St Cyril. Euclid of Megara, and Socrates, were both monotheists. Plato, we believe, to have been one likewise. His trinity, like that of the Magi and the Egyptians, was not a trinity of beings, but of modes of being in the Divine Nature. The philosophers, as well as the priests, had a *double doctrine*. Plato had his. 'When I speak fairly in my epistles,' said he, 'I commence with *God*—when I do not, my letters begin with *Gods*.' Our limits will not permit us to pursue this subject any further; but we shall conclude our observations on it with a citation from Origen, which we think is decisive. 'Many of the old philosphers have said, that there is one God who created all things; and in this they agree with the law: but some say, in addition, that God hath made and governs all things by his Word; and that it is the Word of God by which all things are regulated. In this they write consonantly, not only with the law, but with the gospel.'

In the second volume of these Hints, there are several chapters which well deserve attention. There are, however, certain prejudices which appear to have strangely warped the judgment of the writer. In an estimate of things and persons, we should not have been surprised, if the solid virtue of Sully had been preferred to the more brilliant accomplishments of his master; but we did not expect to find the character of Henry the Fourth contrasted with that of his mother.

The twenty-fifth chapter contains an essay on the use which ought

ought to be made of books by the young Princess. She is not to burthen her memory with a load of dry matter, nor yet with a mass of poetry. What is she to do then? Why, she is to get by heart one select passage, one weighty sentence, one striking precept, which is to form a *thesis* for interesting conversation. For instance, 'a short specimen of eloquence from South, or of reasoning from Barrow; a detached reflection on the analogy of religion to nature from Butler; a political character from Clarendon; a maxim from the Proverbs,' &c. &c. &c. Is it possible to imagine any thing much more ridiculous than this? Who would wish to see a Queen of England coming into a circle, with 'a moral document from Johnson, or a paragraph on the Wealth of Nations (what could this be?) from Adam Smith, or a rule of conduct from Sir Matthew Hale,' and propounding it as a thesis for interesting conversation to her ladies of the bedchamber? How her Majesty's Maids of Honour would stare, if she required of them to discuss with her 'an opinion from Blackstone on the law of England, or a text from Bishop Hall on devout contemplation!' It is very well, for some women, to give us a peep at the Blue Stocking,

Nam quæ docta nimis cupit, et facunda videri,
Crure tenus medio tunicas succingere debet;

but, as ridicule is the most formidable enemy to dignity, a Queen ought to conform herself to the manners of the world; and when she unbends from the cares of government, her amusements may be innocent, without being singular; and her conversation may be rational, without being pedantic.

The author has introduced a chapter on the age of Louis the Fourteenth, we should have thought for the express purpose of attacking Voltaire, if he had not told us that it is now scarcely necessary to caution the young reader against the principles of that writer. 'The disgrace of Voltaire,' he adds, 'is become almost as signal as his offences; his crimes seem to have procured for his works their just reprobation.' When we read this sentence, we began to rub our eyes, to doubt whether we were awake, and to wonder if we had really got into the best of all possible worlds. A little book lay near us. We opened it, and had not read a page of *Candide*, before we recollected that we were still in the same world, where, after having toiled through many a heavy volume, we could yet turn with pleasure to the works of Voltaire, and admire his genius and delight in his wit, while we lamented the infatuation of his infidelity.

In his twenty-ninth and thirtieth chapters, the author of the Hints has given a critical dissertation on the writers of the Old and New Testaments. We shall leave it to others to decide, whether the taste of that critic be very good, who prefers the

harp of the Jews to the lyre of the Greeks, and who plucks the laurel from the brow of Homer to place it on the head of the good King David. In his admiration of the ſacred hiſtorians, our author is not leſs fervent. He tells us, that neither Xenophon, nor Cæſar, can ſtand a compariſon with St Luke. It is a compariſon, we own, of which we ſhould not have thought. We know not, however, quite what to think of our author, when he ſays, that all *other mythologic* hiſtories (page 211.) degrade our nature. Is the hiſtory of the Jews, then, a *mythologic* hiſtory?

The author has frequently recommended, that ſelections ſhould be made for the young Princeſs from different books. As he has uſed this liberty with ſome writers of high name, he will, perhaps, excuſe us, if we ſuggeſt the propriety of a ſimilar plan being followed, when his own volumes ſhall be put into the hands of her Royal Highneſs. Some of his chapters have undoubted merit. Many of his hints may be extremely uſeful; and, where his underſtanding is not obſcured by particular prejudices, he generally diſplays a very conſiderable ſhare of intellect. We ſincerely join with him in hoping, that the preceptors of the illuſtrious young perſon will not fail to inſtruct her fully in the duties of a Sovereign, even while ſhe yet ſtands only on the ſteps of that throne where ſhe may one day be ſeated. While ſhe is ſtill a ſubject, ſhe ſhould be taught how ſhe ſhould act the part of a Queen. 'Thoſe,' ſaid Socrates, 'who have learned to play beſt on the lyre in private, are they who excel moſt on it, when they come to exhibit their muſical talents in public.'

ART. VI. *Flore du Nord de la France: ou Deſcription des Plantes Indigènes, et de celles cultivées dans les Départemens de la Lys, de l'Eſcaut, de la Dyle, et des Deux-Nèthes, y compris les Plantes qui naiſſent dans les pays limitrophes de ces Départemens; Ouvrage de près de trente ans de ſoins et de recherches, dans lequel les Plantes ſont arrangées ſuivant le ſyſtême de* Linné, *et décrites par Genres et Eſpèces, avec des Obſervations de l'Auteur. On y a joint les lieux poſitifs où elles naiſſent, et leurs Propriétés reconnues dans la Médecine, dans les Alimens, et dans les Arts.* Par F. Roucel, Officier de Santé penſionné de la ville d'Aloſt, Membre correſpondant de la Societé d'Hiſtoire Naturelle, et de celle de Médecine, Chirurgie et Pharmacie de Bruxelles. 2 tom. 8vo. Paris, 1803.

IN every country, an accurate knowledge of its internal reſources forms an object of political importance; but the deſcription of its natural productions is connected with the intereſts of ſociety at large, and eminently calculated to illuſtrate thoſe indications of intelligence and goodneſs which may be traced in every form

form of matter, from a particle of earth to the wonderful conſtitution of an organized and ſentient being. Thoſe, therefore, who devote themſelves to the inveſtigation of ſuch portions of the material world as lye within their reach, do not only contribute to their own mental gratification, but to the welfare of their country, and of mankind. If they wiſh, however, to be eminently ſerviceable to either, they will limit their reſearches within attainable bounds, and confine their attention to ſome one definite portion of the multiplied and extenſive departments of Nature. In each of theſe departments, as in mechanical operations, much benefit will be found to reſult from a judicious ſubdiviſion of labour. It is foreign to our preſent purpoſe to inſtitute a compariſon between organized and inorganized ſubſtances, or to aſſign reaſons for the proſecution of one branch of natural hiſtory, in preference to another; but we may be permitted to remark, that the nomenclature and claſſification of the vegetable tribes are now reduced into ſuch a ſyſtematic form, that the botaniſt may regiſter his diſcoveries with greater facility and preciſion, than either the mineralogiſt or the zoologiſt. This conſideration, however, ſhould not induce him to ſuppoſe, that, even in a long life of health and leiſure, he ſhall be able, like the wiſe king of old, to talk of *every* plant, from the hyſſop that grows on the wall, to the cedar of Lebanon. An ambitious naturaliſt may amuſe himſelf with delineating a new ſyſtem, or roaming over a neglected quarter of the world; but thoſe whoſe reſearches are guided by a love of utility, will perceive the propriety of partial and minute inveſtigation; while the accidental circumſtance of reſidence will, in moſt inſtances, point to the diſtrict which is deſtined to be ſurveyed.

In proportion as the influence of theſe ſentiments is diffuſed, we may hope that the vegetable contents of provinces and countries will be delineated with ability, and that every zealous botaniſt, who poſſeſſes leiſure, activity, and talent, will cooperate in the multiplication of national Floras. Several valuable works of this deſcription have already appeared in our own, and in other countries. We have lately adverted, with conſiderable minuteneſs, to that of the Preſident of the Linnæan Society. The publication which now ſolicits our notice, is conducted, in ſome reſpects, on a more extenſive ſcale. It has obtained a high character from the tame complaiſance of moſt of the Continental Journals; and we are aſſured, that it has occupied the author's attention during a period of no leſs than *thirty* years.

We ſhall now ſhortly examine it by thoſe principles on which we conceive that its merit muſt be ultimately determined.

Whoever profeſſes to detail the botanical hiſtory of any portion of ſoil, ſhould ſpecify with accuracy the phyſical limits of his range. In every caſe, this may be done with unerring certainty;

but M. Roucel has assumed a latitude and vagueness of title, which we must regard as unwarrantable. 'The north of France' implies a wider extent of territory than those departments which he specifies; but even his specification is rendered ambiguous, by the undefined expression, *Pays limitrophes*, which necessarily excludes a line of demarcation. Such a line, however, should have been described, or even traced on a map.

Let us next suppose, that the boundaries of the projected survey have been correctly defined, the objects of examination immediately suggest the embarrassing distinction of *indigenous* and *exotic* plants. Although the term *Flora* be usually restricted to a scientific exhibition of the former, it may, with sufficient propriety, be extended to the latter. In the present publication, accordingly, many of the cultivated species are introduced. These, however, need not detain us long; because their enumeration and history are treated with a degree of negligence which we should scarcely pardon in the most common Gardener's Dictionary. While we regret that they are so awkwardly blended with the aborigines of the country, we have reason to suspect, that their intrusion has often diverted the author's attention from the latter, and thus injured at once the unity and the usefulness of his labours. The horticulturist can derive little benefit or information from meagre descriptions of some of the plants which are most commonly cultivated in gardens, and from the general assertion, '*that various other sorts* are reared by the curious.' The history of these other sorts, and the most approved methods of rearing them, are precisely what is most wanted; and, so long as they are kept out of view, we must regard this part of M. Roucel's plan as very defective, and in a great measure nugatory.

In the farther prosecution of these remarks, we wish it to be understood, that we refer to the consideration of the indigenous species only. And here a question, of some difficulty, immediately presents itself, namely, What is the true import of the epithet *indigenous?* Like the kindred terms, *native*, *spontaneous*, *original*, &c. it conveys only vague and confused notions, referring indiscriminately to a variety of erroneous and inconsistent suppositions. It is frequently employed, for example, to denote, that the individuals of which it is predicated are coeval with the soil; that they are not of foreign extraction; or that they perfect their fruit without the aid of culture. Now, when it occurs, unaccompanied by circumstances of modification, to which of these circumstances are we to understand that it refers? or, indeed, do appearances, drawn from the history of nature, warrant the truth of any of the propositions just stated, or sanction the admission of the term upon any general principle?

Before he answer these queries, a cautious observer will at least pause;

pauſe; nor will he haſtily pronounce, of any vegetable whatever, that it is contemporary with the ſoil in which it grows. If, in reaſoning of paſt and remote operations, he be allowed to deduce his inferences analogically, from proceſſes actually going on, he will rather conclude, that the ſolid maſſes of our globe are inadequate to the purpoſes of vegetable life, until they have undergone a certain degree of decompoſition. He will perceive that, with the exception of a few iſlands, recently formed by the agency of ſubterranean fires, no given tract of territory can at this day atteſt the uninterrupted genealogy of its vegetable tribes; and that numberleſs impreſſions of prior races are ſtill viſible in ſtrata of ſchiſtus, coal, and iron-ſtone. Again, he will heſitate to aſſign a domeſtic origin to every ſpecies that is now reputed indigenous. It is well known, for example, that Chryſanthemum ſegetum was firſt imported into Sweden and Jutland among grain, toward the end of the ſeventeenth century. Datura Stramonium has found its way to Europe from America. Plantago major, on the contrary, at preſent frequent in ſeveral parts of North America, was firſt introduced by the Engliſh into Penſylvania. Chenopodium album, and Tanacetum vulgare, are, in like manner, ſuppoſed to have been imported from the old world: and a great variety of ſimilar inſtances might eaſily be adduced. Laſtly, ſhould we affirm, that the term in queſtion is properly applied to ſuch plants only as reproduce their kinds, independently of ſtated culture, we muſt admit as denizens many ſtragglers from the ſhrubbery and parterre, and exerciſe all the rigour of the Alien act on various ſpecies which are peculiar to land in a ſtate of tillage. Pteris aquilina will not thrive without a conſiderable depth of mould; and Avena fatua, which refuſes to vegetate in paſture, ſprings in profuſion when the ſame ground is broken up. Even extenſive paſtures may have been previouſly ploughed; nor can we eaſily determine the point at which cultivation may be ſaid to commence. Should we, for example, beſtow that name on the accidental trampling of quadrupeds, or on accidental or deſigned conflagration? Yet Poa trivialis ſprings from the paths of ſheep-walks, and Trifolium repens from the aſhes of furze and heath. Eryſimum officinale frequently ſucceeds the burning of charcoal; and, according to Hearne, when the underwood and moſs about Albany and Moosfort have been ſet on fire, raſpberry buſhes and wild roſes have ſhot up in great numbers, on ſpots where none had been obſerved before. Senecio jacobæa and Ulex Europæus, which are frequently ſo prevalent in our moor lands and paſture grounds, diſappear on the application of the plough. The ſame obſervation applies to moſt of the Filices. Yet, remove them into a hot-houſe, or, in other words, treat them with the moſt refined and indulgent

ſpecies of culture, and they will quickly expand into beautiful luxuriance, and aſſume the habits of evergreens.

It follows, if we miſtake not, from theſe premiſes, that if we would aim at correct and definite phraſeology, we muſt reſtrict the term *indigenous* to ſuch plants as are capable of perpetuating their kinds without the intentional interference of man. The exotic, if deprived of his attentions, languiſhes and expires; whereas the indigenous plant, whatever country may have been its cradle, arrives at maturity, and, independently of the ſtudied care of a human cultivator, depoſits in the earth the fertile germ of renewed exiſtence.

Impreſſed with theſe views of the ſubject, we cannot refrain from obſerving, that M. Roucel has compoſed his catalogue of Belgic natives, with little regard to nicety of ſelection, or peculiar ſolicitude concerning claims of admiſſion. The birthright of Aſclepias vincetoxicum, Scorzonera laciniata, Allium flavum, Polygonum dumetorm, Campanula perſicifolia, Ribes uva criſpa, &c. &c. may be juſtly queſtioned: and there is reaſon to ſuſpect, that the omiſſions of undiſputed rights are numerous and deplorable. It is true that we have not perambulated the departments of the Lys, the Scheldt, the Dyle, and the two Nethes, during the twelve laſt eventful years; but we retain a ſufficient recollection of their vegetable aſpect, to be aſſured that they contain a much more ample ſtore of Cryptogamic plants, eſpecially of Fuci and Muſci, than this author has thought proper to exhibit. Neither can we believe, on ſlight evidence, that this range of territory is deſtitute of ſuch common ſpecies as Schænus compreſſus, Eriophoron vaginatum, Poa rigida, Hordeum maritimum, Triticum junceum, Centunculus minimus, Symphytum tuberoſum, and many more which it would be tireſome to enumerate. Trollius Europæus is noted only as a garden plant; yet the circumſtance of its occurrence in our own iſland in a wild ſtate, will juſtify a ſtrong ſuſpicion that it may alſo be found growing ſpontaneouſly within the circle of the author's obſervations. Many of the deficiencies, to which we at preſent allude, might have been ſupplied by a careful inſpection of ſeveral works of acknowledged merit and reſearch. The preliminary liſt of authors who have been conſulted, is neither very copious nor appropriate. Conſiderable aid has, indeed, been derived from Blanckaart's Herbarius, Profeſſor Leſtiboudois's Botanographie Belgique, and the Manuel de l'Herboriſte et du Foreſtier Belgique of the Baron de Poeterle: but we have looked in vain for Behren's Hercynia Curioſa, Thalius's Sylva Hercynia, Nylandt's Nederlandtſche Herbarius of Kruydboek, and

others,

others, whoſe preciſe titles have eſcaped our recollection, but which muſt have been very acceſſible to a reſident in Flanders.

In regard to arrangement, the diſcreet compiler of a Flora will adopt that which is moſt generally approved. As the Linnæan method has juſtly obtained the aſcendancy over every other artificial diſtribution, it will readily be allowed to deſerve the preference. In the practical application of this valuable contrivance, a regular ſeries of explanations will neceſſarily include the generic and ſpecific names. Their expoſition, and that of the more popular appellations, it is almoſt ſuperfluous to obſerve, ſhould be followed by ſtatements of the technical characters, a copious liſt of ſynonymes and references, and a detailed deſcription of the plant.

Our author might have adhered, ſtill more cloſely than he has done, to the Linnæan nomenclature; for Lamarck's innovations, to which he is evidently partial, are not all amendments. The Latin deſignation is very properly followed by the French, and that, in many inſtances, by the Flemiſh. Not a few, we believe, of M. Roucel's countrymen could have been gratified by the uniform inſertion of the latter; and even the ſcientific botaniſt may derive aſſiſtance from the review of vernacular names. The ſpecific epithet *beccabunga*, for example, has been often pronounced a term of unknown or barbarous origin; but the Flemiſh *beck-pungen (mouth-ſmart)* at once reveals its derivation. Several of the exotic articles, noticed in the preſent work, may have no correſponding provincial name; but it ſurely will not be alleged that thoſe of ſuch frequent occurrence as Veronica chamædrys, Anthoxanthum odoratum, Schænus nigricans, Scirpus paluſtris, Aira aquatica, Poa trivialis, &c. are in this predicament. No analyſis or explanation is given of the generic and ſpecific deſignations; and the extreme paucity of references and ſynonymes very materially detracts from the uſefulneſs of the work. The characters of the genus are, for the moſt part, though not always, ſet down; and they are immediately followed by a ſhort, though, generally, appropriate deſcription of the ſpecies.

In regard to the law and appearance of vegetable organization, growth, maturity, diſeaſe, and death, it may be remarked, that they involve many points of curious and intereſting ſpeculation, though not eaſily attainable by common obſervers. In every ſubject, whoſe inveſtigation calls for uncommon efforts of patience, or for talents of peculiar acuteneſs, the progreſs of diſcovery is unavoidably ſlow; and, while we contemplate with admiration the combined labours of Malpighi, Grew, Duhamel, Bonnet, and Senebier, we cannot obſerve, without mortification,

within

within how narrow a compaſs their real diſcoveries may be compriſed. At the commencement of the nineteenth century, man, who has explored the waſtes of ocean, and deſcribed the paths of revolving worlds, has not determined what is the vital principle of a blade of graſs. It is obvious, however, that ſuch facts in vegetable phyſiology, as have been aſcertained, ſhould be accurately noted, ſince, to their accumulation, we muſt be ultimately indebted for thoſe ſyſtematic principles which may reſolve the myſteries of organized exiſtence.

It is ſeldom, however, that the preſent writer indulges in a ſingle phyſiological remark. The ſeaſon of flowering, and the duration of the plant, which might eaſily be noted, as in other Floras, by ſymbolical characters, are almoſt uniformly omitted. The native climate of moſt of the foreign ſpecies is ſtated with conſiderable accuracy; but it is rather ſurpriſing that, when he deigns to particularize the native habitations of the domeſtic ſorts, M. Roucel ſeems to be leſs *at home*. Dryas octopetala, which he fetches all the way from Dauphiné, is a well-known native of England, Ireland, and Scotland, and grows ſpontaneouſly, at leaſt as far north as Iceland. Chelidonium glaucium, in like manner, which is here aſſerted to derive its origin from the ſouthern provinces of Europe, occurs on various parts of the Britiſh coaſts. We have frequently obſerved it on the ſhores of Cumberland, Fifeſhire, &c.

The very firſt genus (*Salicornia*) which is exhibited in this collection, might have furniſhed ſeveral intereſting obſervations. The preſence of ſalt, more than of ſea-air, ſeems requiſite to the exiſtence of the herbaceous ſpecies; as Henckel and others found it in a very thriving ſtate near the ſalt-pits of Saxony and the Tyrol; and Pallas notes it as the only plant that grows on the edges of the ſalt-fens, which ſo frequently attracted his attention in his progreſs from Aſtracan to the Tauridan peninſula. The circumſtance of muriat of ſoda entering into its compoſition deſerves to be recorded, ſince Hales, Thouvenel, and Cornette have ſhewn that, in moſt caſes, ſalts do not paſs into the veſſels of plants, and that ſaline ſolutions are frequently deſtructive to vegetable life. The Chevalier de Jaucourt, whoſe hurried and multifarious compilements were very unfriendly to habits of preciſion and reſearch, aſſerts quite at his eaſe, 'on ne compte qu'une eſpèce de Salicornie.' Linnæus and his pupils, however, have characterized at leaſt nine; but ſome of the moſt celebrated botaniſts have expreſſed very ſerious doubts concerning any eſſential diſtinction between the herbacea and fruticoſa. Dr Smith preſumes that they are ſpecifically different. Hudſon ſtates the latter as a variety of his Europæa; while Dr Goodenough and Mr Woodward aſcribe its ſhrubby-like appear-

ance

ance to age. Lightfoot alleges, that the herbaceous is often *perennial*,—a curious, if a true anomaly. Such individuals as miſs flowering the firſt year, may, perhaps, like biennials, have their exiſtence prolonged, until a more kindly ſeaſon enable them to comply with the univerſal law of continuing the race. It is thus that the Plantain tree has exiſted for centuries in the gardens of Holland; but, having once bloſſomed, no care or art could avert its death. The lofty Corypha palm flowers in its 35th year, bears its fruit, and expires. The more humble Lavatera arborea ſtruggles with our coldeſt winters till it has blown; and then decays with the firſt indications of froſt. Others, while they countenance the identity of the annua and fruticoſa, diſtinguiſh the perennis, which is ſaid to grow in great profuſion in the Iſle of Sheppey. The ſingle ſtamen, it ſhould ſeem, is no infallible diſtinctive mark; for Mæhringius, Aymen, and others, have obſerved two, and Sauvages perceived no fewer than ſix. The Chevalier Murray, in a cultivated annual ſpecimen, remarked, at firſt, only one, but, ſhortly after, a ſecond. From ſuch diſcrepancies we are tempted to infer, that this genus, like Atriplex, Chenopodium, Alſine, &c. love to ſport in thoſe varieties, which may long elude the penetration of the ſyſtematic naturaliſt. Referring the inquiſitive reader to Henckel's Uerwandſchaft der Plantzen mit den Mineral reiche, we ſhall only notice, in paſſing, that this patient obſerver detected in the annual ſpecies, when in its freſh ſtate, a proportion of common ſalt equal to one fifth of the whole weight; that he found its weight diminiſhed, by drying, no leſs than two thirds; and that its evaporated decoction yielded a conſiderable quantity of regularly cryſtallized ſea-ſalt.

We do not pretend by any means to make a complete catalogue of M. Roucel's errors and omiſſions; but we cannot refrain from obſerving, that many of our moſt common plants offer, in their natural hiſtory, various intereſting peculiarities which ought not to be paſſed in total ſilence, and the mention of which agreeably relieves the dryneſs of mere nomenclature and technical deſcription Among hundreds of examples, we might allude to the general diffuſion of Alchemilla vulgaris, Bellis perennis, Alſine media, and Fragaſia veſca, in different quarters of the world; to the low and elevated habitations of Statice armeria and Plantago maritima; to the nitre obtained from Parietaria officinalis; to the ſulphur ready formed in the Braſſicæ; to the ſilicious earth in the Epidermis of the culmiferous families; to the reviving influence of water on the Muſci, &c. &c.

That part of botanical ſcience which treats of the properties and uſes of plants, is undoubtedly entitled to the higheſt degree of attention. But it offers a wide field of obſervation, which has by no

no means been completely traverſed. Aſſertions which have obtained currency ſtill require to be verified; and new powers and relations undoubtedly remain to be detected. In their zeal to exalt a darling ſtudy, ſome of the votaries of Flora have raſhly inveſted vegetables with properties which are at leaſt equivocal; while ignorance which is credulous, and indolence which ſhrinks from the pains of examination, have tamely acquieſced, and thus contributed to the propagation of error. The reputed qualities of herbs may, no doubt, be frequently traced to accidental or imaginary points of reſemblance; to the dreams of aſtrologers, the effrontery of empirics, or the legends of ſuperſtition. But modern practitioners, on the other hand, have haſtily given way to unqualified ſcepticiſm, and cancelled from the medical code many ſalutary ſimples of domeſtic growth. In a great number of inſtances, the more active product of warm climates may deſerve a preference; but, in a great number alſo, propriety and convenience may point to the more attainable and genuine remedies. Our northern latitudes are by no means deſtitute of powerful vegetable medicines; as Papaver ſomniferum, Cicuta viroſa, Hyoſcyamus niger, &c. which have removed more pain than they have inflicted: and healing qualities may probably reſide in thoſe lowly ſimples which the philoſopher, as he ſpeculates on the amelioration of ſociety, at preſent tramples under foot. The hiſtory of medicine, amid all its doubts and uncertainties, has unfolded facts ſufficient to rouſe the ſpirit of reſearch; and it is reaſonable to believe, that the want of opportunity and of the requiſite knowledge, rather than of inclination, retards the progreſs of that part of Pharmacy which is immediately connected with the vegetable kingdom. The mode of analyſis by diſtillation may amuſe curioſity, but is generally inefficient or fallacious; for new combinations are frequently formed during the proceſs, and the ſame, or ſimilar reſults, have been obtained from plants widely differing in their conſtitution and caſt of features. Thus, Homberg procured the ſame principles from cabbage and hemlock; and Geoffroy lived to regret the extent of his fruitleſs labours. It cannot, however, be denied, that the leſs ambiguous proceſſes of pharmaceutic chemiſtry may often reveal peculiar or important properties. In ſome inſtances, much may be effected by the ſimple application of ſolvents; in others, taſte and ſmell may lead to diſcoveries; and, in all, much may be reſerved for the obſervation and the experiments of the curious. It is ſcarcely neceſſary to remark, that many of our indigenous plants may be found worthy of being introduced into our cultivated fields or gardens, and that not a few may be made ſubſervient to the purpoſes of the arts and manufactures.

M. Roucel, in the true ſpirit of an officer of health, ſeems to have

have been chiefly ſolicitous to mark the medical virtues, real or ſuppoſed, of the plants which he has undertaken to deſcribe; and, though he has not treated us with all the exploded noſtrums of the ancient herbaliſts, he is nevertheleſs abundantly liberal in his enumeration of the healing virtues of various herbs. His countryman, Caels, has likewiſe ſupplied him with a copious and varied ſtore of poiſons. On the whole, however, we may venture to affirm, without much fear of contradiction, that our author is a ſtranger to the modern ſimplifications of pharmacy, and that few profeſſional men can with ſafety avail themſelves of his medical aſſertions. He very obligingly informs us, that ſage is analeptic, cephalic, ſtomachic, emmenagogical, good againſt vertigo, palſy, tremor, apoplexy, &c.; but he forgets to mention that, when diſtilled in large quantities, it yields camphor, which is eaſily collected. In this enlightened age, when the demand for camphor bags is daily increaſing, it may be acceptable to many of our readers to be told, that moſt of the labiate plants are endowed with the ſame property.

Our author diſmiſſes Arundo arenaria without a ſyllable concerning its economical uſes. Yet, ſo long ago as the days of Parkinſon, it was 'uſed by divers, both with us and in the Low Countries, for mats, haſſocks, and divers ſuch like mean works, very ſerviceable.' In Angleſea, in particular, it is manufactured into mats and ropes.

In Iceland, the grain of ſand-reed approaches ſo nearly to maturity, that the proceſs of kiln-drying imparts to it the requiſite degree of hardneſs for the mill. This laſt is worked by the hand, and its ſtones are formed of a hard compact lava. The crop is regularly reaped with a ſickle, dried in ſhocks, and then thraſhed and winnowed. The flower, which, in ſome diſtricts, forms an article of traffic, is uſed in ſoups and porridge, and is baked into cakes, as oatmeal in Scotland. Theſe cakes, called *flad-brod* (flat-bread), are reliſhed as dainties even by the principal inhabitants of the iſland. The flour is likewiſe prepared with ſour whey into a paſte called *tiſma*, which the labourers eat with milk or cream. This is their uſual breakfaſt, which they would not exchange for more delicate fare, as they think it communicates a genial heat, ſtrength, and ſpirits to the frame for the reſt of the day.

We mention theſe circumſtances, not merely to gratify curioſity, but to juſtify the inference, that extenſive portions of ſea-coaſt, which, from time immemorial, have been condemned to hopeleſs ſterility, may be converted into productive ſoil. The plant under conſideration is of ſpontaneous growth, of eaſy propagation, and not liable to become the prey of inſects, or the ſport of ſudden changes of temperature. It exhauſts not its native

tive ſand, requires no manure, and ripens its ſeed without the cares and labours of the huſbandman.

Another important benefit reſults from the remarkable property which this graſs poſſeſſes, of retaining the dry and moveable ſand, which, in many caſes, might bury fertile fields, and leave the flat beach unprotected to the encroachments of the ſea. Long ſucceſs has ſanctioned the Dutch practice of ſowing it on ſandy coaſts, ſubject to inundations. The example has been followed, though on a ſmaller ſcale, in ſome parts of Norfolk. In contemplating the ever varying contrivances by which Nature regulates her operations, we are ſometimes aſtoniſhed by her humble ſimplicity, not leſs than by her diſplays of ſtupendous power. In the preſent inſtance, a feeble reed is made the inſtrument of repelling thoſe ſtormy waves, which have ſo often riven the bolted oak, and pierced and ſhattered the flinty rock into atoms. The ſame remarks apply to Galium verum, Triticum junceum, Elymus arenarius, &c.; and in a ſtill more forcible manner to Cocos crucifera, which, if judiciouſly diſtributed, may, one day, arreſt the overwhelming clouds of Arabia, and make 'the deſart to rejoice, and bloſſom as the roſe.'

Although the author's plan, and the opportunities of his ſituation, obviouſly invited him to a ſtatement of theſe particulars, he has never once hinted at them. Indeed, his *negative* catalogue of the uſes of plants is by far too long for our enumeration. In a very few caſes, however, the farmer and the domeſtic economiſt may derive benefit from his hints. Thus, we are informed, that the common broom is cultivated on the ſandy ſoil in the neighbourhood of Ghent, St Nicholas, and Antwerp, for the double purpoſe of furniſhing a ſuitable manure, and flower-buds which are pickled as capers. Spergula arvenſis (corn-ſpurrey) is alſo ſown for late paſturage, and is found to increaſe the quantity of cow's milk, and improve the quality of the butter. M. Roucel might have added, that it is a regular crop in the Campine of Brabant, originally a tract of harſh ſand, interſperſed with extenſive fens, heath, and fir; which long defied the moſt ſpirited efforts of the agriculturiſt, but which yielded to the patient and ſkilful management of the monks. Their maxim was, never to reclaim more ſoil at a time than they could manure, which ſeldom exceeded eighteen acres in a year. In proportion as it was rendered productive, they let it to farmers on eaſy terms, and accommodated them with comfortable dwellings. In conſequence of perſevering in theſe ſimple principles, extenſive portions are now highly cultivated, and covered with villages and hamlets. The ſpurrey is ſown after the corn is reaped; the cows are put on it in October, and continue to feed on it till the approach of winter. The butter

ter prepared from their milk is highly prized in the market at Bruſſels, and is found to keep better than any other. Before the revolution, the capuchins prepared their *whipping cords* from the bark of Lavatera arborea. ' Ces cordes,' obſerves the grave botaniſt with much *naïveté*, ' ſont très blanches et luiſantes; mais au rapport de quelques-uns, elles n'ont pas la même force, et ſont plus caſſantes que celles du chanvre.'

In recording the indigenous plants of a country or province, a ſenſible obſerver will never fail to mark with preciſion the habitations of each ſpecies; ſince thus he greatly abridges the trouble of future inquirers, and contributes, at the ſame time, to confirm or invalidate a variety of opinions relative to the appropriate adaptations of ſoil and climate. We cannot ſay that M. Roucel has, in general, been ſparing of his localities; but he has often expreſſed them with too much vagueneſs, to be of any material ſervice to thoſe who may be deſirous of treading in his footſteps.

Having ſubmitted theſe obſervations to the conſideration of our readers, not only as teſts of the preſent performance, but as matters of doctrine which concern all who are engaged in ſimilar undertakings, we ſhall now quote an example of the author's manner, adhering as cloſely as poſſible to his own ſtyle, which is generally the reverſe of lively or poliſhed. The paſſage which we ſelect is perhaps the moſt intereſting in the work, becauſe it preſents us with the reſult of perſonal obſervation.

' 262. Stratiotes aloïdes. Lin. Syſt. plantar. tom. II. 623.
Sedum aquatile, ſive Stratiotes potamios. Dodon. Pempt.
Aloe paluſtris. Bauh. Pin.
French. Statiote aloïde; Aloës des marais, ou Ananas aquatique.
Flem. Waterruiters.

' Its leaves are numerous, triangular, long, enſiform, pointed, bordered with hard and ſharp hairs, and collected into a tuft at the baſe. From the under part of this tuft proceed ſeveral delicate, cylindrical, worm-like fibres, which may be conſidered as roots. The ſtems, which ſpring laterally between the leaves, are much ſhorter than the latter, and contain, in their upper part, a diphyllous ſheath, which includes from three to five flowers. On opening this ſheath, before the extruſion of the flowers, a ſecond ſmall membranous covering, in which each of the flower-buds is encloſed, becomes viſible. At length thoſe flowers come forward in ſucceſſion from their ſheaths, and appear during the months of July and Auguſt. They are compoſed of a calyx of three diviſions, and of three white petals, rounded and larger than the calyx, with from 12 to 13, rarely 14, ſtamens, inſerted on the receptacle. From 25 to 30 antheriform filaments, which Linnæus calls *nectaries*, ſurround the ſtamens, and are alſo attached to the receptacle.

' But I could never diſcover any piſtil or fruit, though I ſearched for

for both on the flowers of between 50 and 60 plants, which I culled from the water of different wet ſituations, and during the ſpace of a month or ſix weeks. Thus, neither the hermaphrodite flowers, nor the female plants by themſelves, rewarded my trouble. If this plant, then, belongs to the *Diæcious* claſs, in which it is placed by the editor of the 8th edition of Linnæus's *Genera Plantarum*, (though in the 15th edition of the *Syſtema Vegetabilium* of the ſame author, it is reſtored to *Polyandria*), and which my obſervations, in ſome meaſure, prove the female plants ſhould exiſt, though in ſituations more or leſs remote from the male flowers: I hope that curious botaniſts may diſcover what may have eluded my inveſtigation: I exhort them to continue my obſervations. *

'I ſhall moreover obſerve, that the *water aloe* (which is abundantly propagated by the roots) has ſometimes the ſtamens of its flowers ſo disfigured by a ſmall marſh ſlug, which gnaws them, that it is then difficult to diſtinguiſh them, and that a botaniſt may be puzzled in his examination of them.

'This plant grows in the pools and ditches which communicate with the Scheldt: it is far from rare about Ghent, Aloſt, Termonde, Antwerp, and Mechlin.

'Miller, in his Gardener's and Farmer's Dictionary, vol. vii. 207, affirms, that in autumn, the water aloe ſinks in the water, and riſes again in ſpring. This is true: I have made the ſame remark. Miller aſſigns no reaſon for this phenomenon: aſſiduous obſervation has taught me what follows. In autumn, the baſe of the tuft of the plant, from which the vermiform radicles iſſue, becomes ſoft, of a livid hue, and appears to rot; the radicles, in courſe, are ſucceſſively detached; then the plant, as if ſluggiſh and languiſhing, gradually deſcends in the water: † it remains at the bottom until ſpring. About the month of April, the ſpirit of vegetation revives it: young ſhoots, which ſpring from between the leaves of the old plant, and which are attached to them by a worm-like radicle, become ſo many individual plants. In the beginning of May, theſe young ſhoots have reached the ſurface of the water; and towards the end of this month, the old plants likewiſe aſcend, furniſhed with from ſix to eight vermiform radicles, from two to three feet long, which, at that ſeaſon of the year, are ſtill floating. All the young plants or ſets are then beſide the old, on the ſurface of the water, but connected with them by radical filaments; the old plants alſo acquire new leaves; and the vermiform radicles, which have multiplied

* We have preſerved the original ſtructure of this Belgic period.

† 'Its immerſion, which begins about the middle of October, continues from five to ſix weeks; and the vermiform radicles do not entirely quit the plant till very late. In ſhallow pools and plaſhes, in which the water aloe cannot ſink, it remains at the ſurface of the water during the whole year (unleſs it be killed by intenſe colds), and clothes theſe places with a very lively verdure.'

multiplied to ten, twelve, or fourteen, are fixed to the ground only about the month of July.'

Upon the whole, though we cannot entirely approve of this writer's plan or execution, his volumes certainly contain a considerable quantity of new information, and may be adopted with advantage as the ground-work of a more complete Belgic Flora.

ART. VII. *A Short Statement of some important Facts, relative to the late Election of a Mathematical Professor in the University of Edinburgh; accompanied with Original Papers, and Critical Remarks.* By Professor Dugald Stewart. Edinburgh, Constable & Co. Cadell & Davies, London. 3d Edition. 1805.

FOR some years past, it has been perfectly well known, to those who take an interest in the prosperity of our University, that certain of the Ministers of Edinburgh entertained a systematic design of distributing as many of the Professorships as possible among themselves; and that, besides the professional chairs in Theology, those of several profane sciences were allotted as very convenient appendages to the benefices of the city. The double profit of such an arrangement most naturally suggested it; and for a while it was found so easy to carry the measure into effect, even in cases where it might have been thought desperate, that this project seemed upon the point of being realized into an invariable rule. Nothing to be sure could be more certain, from the very nature of the thing, as well as from the academical experience of all modern Europe, than the ruin which such a practice would bring upon a College, which is still distinguished for the eminence of some of its Professors, and the active emulation of their students. But there was a recent interval of time, during which the literary fame, and public usefulness of the University of Edinburgh, were but very carelessly regarded, in a quarter, where it was of the last importance that they should have been the sole motives of patronage: and it was by no means extraordinary, under such an order of things, that a coincidence of sentiments in other respects should have rendered this indifference, with regard to qualifications, or the subsequent performance of duty, very serviceable towards the establishment of the scheme of clerical and academical pluralities. These will be matters of history hereafter; for the present, they are notorious enough, to render a more specific statement superfluous. But it was necessary to place this general fact, at the head of the narrative on which we are about to enter.

Upon the death of Dr John Robiſon, and the undiſputed promotion of Mr Playfair to the chair of Natural Philoſophy, ſeveral candidates appeared for that of Mathematics; ſome of them, long and honourably known to the public, by their writings, or their ſervices in education. Beſides theſe, there was of courſe one of the Miniſters of Edinburgh, whoſe name is Mr Macknight. This gentleman, we are informed by Mr Stewart, originally entertained ſo laudable an ambition for the diſtinguiſhed office to which he aſpired, as to expreſs his willingneſs to relinquiſh his parochial charge, if the object could not otherwiſe be attained. But his eccleſiaſtical friends, upon whoſe influence he relied very much for ſucceſs, avowed openly their determination, that Mr Macknight ſhould either hold both offices together, or ſhould relinquiſh all thoughts of the Profeſſorſhip. This was bringing their project of pluralities to a ſort of criſis. Under the alarm, which ſuch an avowal ſpread among all thoſe who are attached to the Univerſity, either by the benefits they have formerly received there, or by thoſe which they are themſelves engaged in diffuſing, two of the Profeſſors, Mr Stewart and Mr Playfair, by far the moſt illuſtrious names which the literature of Scotland can now produce, addreſſed letters upon the ſubject to the Lord Provoſt; in which they ſtated, with unanſwerable force of reaſon, that the duties of a Profeſſor in the Univerſity gave full employment for the talents and excluſive induſtry of any man, and that a faithful diſcharge of them was incompatible with thoſe important functions, of a different deſcription, which belong to a clergyman eſtabliſhed in the church.

This general queſtion, however, the Patrons of the Univerſity were not brought to the neceſſity of formally deciding; for the claims of one of the candidates placed him far above all the reſt: and the Magiſtrates had announced a determination, the more honourable to them, from there being no recent practice to dictate ſuch a principle, that they ſhould be guided in their choice by nothing but the comparative merits of the competitors, and the weight of recommendation they ſhould ſeverally produce. The candidate diſtinguiſhed by this teſt above the others, was Mr John Leſlie, long known to his countrymen as a profound and inventive geometer, and whoſe reputation had lately received new luſtre from his curious experiments upon heat. The certificates which he produced were, among others, from the firſt mathematical names in the iſland, from Dr Maſkelyne, Baron Maſeres, Dr Hutton of Woolwich, the late Profeſſor Robiſon, Profeſſor Playfair, the late Mr Thomas Wedgewood, &c. In addition to theſe deciſive teſtimonies, a ſtill more flattering diſtinction was fortunately at this time conferred upon Mr Leſlie, in

in the unanimous resolution of the Council of the Royal Society of London, to adjudge to him the Rumford medals for his discoveries on light and heat; and in a letter, which announced this honour, Sir Joseph Banks expressed his sincere satisfaction, in thinking, 'that a more decided testimonial of the opinion of the Royal Society of Mr Leslie's merit could not be given; and that such a testimonial could not have been brought forward by his best friends at a more suitable time than accident had brought it forward now.' These circumstances produced so strong an impression on the Patrons, that it was understood that their election would fall on Mr Leslie. The clerical friends of Mr Macknight, or rather the promoters of that design, which would equally, in their opinion, have been defeated, had that gentleman succeeded by previously resigning his parochial charge, saw, with despair, a double defeat in the election of a layman to the Chair of Mathematics. This disappointment in their ecclesiastical politics they permitted so to exasperate their minds, that, in an evil hour, they entered upon a course of mischief, which, after violating the peace of the city, which it is their function to cherish in tranquillity and charity, has drawn upon themselves a just punishment in the loud indignation of the public. The measures of persecution and hostility, which they had resolved on, were first made known by obscure and indefinite insinuations that were secretly circulated to the disadvantage of Mr Leslie's religious principles. Gaining credit of course as they spread, these rumours were quickly envenomed by the authors of them to the utmost pitch of malignity; the old cry of heresy and atheism was raised, and all the obsolete resources of theological rancour were once more brought into activity, in this feat of literature—by ministers of the reformed church—by men who were holding themselves forward as most fit to support the reputation of our College in philosophy and all the liberal sciences. Even the pulpit was, upon one occasion, profaned by the dissemination of dark slanders to serve the purposes of this intrigue.

To fortify it, by throwing a general suspicion upon the lay members of the University, and by thus inflaming the public, as if the whole cause of religion were endangered, they had recourse to a measure, which was calculated to cooperate indirectly with their individual calumnies against Mr Leslie. At a meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh on the 9th of March, they procured a remonstrance to the Senatus Academicus, on the disuse of subscription to the Confession of Faith. They did not fail to pretend, nor even scruple solemnly to aver, that this had purely an *accidental* coincidence in point of date with their proceedings relative to the Mathematical Professorship; but the so-

lemnity of that averment only ſerved to prove what exceſſes they were prepared for, in the proſecution of their object. The ſubſcription alluded to was enjoined by acts of the Scotiſh Parliament in the reign of King William and Queen Anne, but had been wholly laid aſide for the period of half a century. The Profeſſors compoſing the Senatus Academicus anſwered this remonſtrance with ſevere dignity. 'They were fully aware of the exiſtence of thoſe acts, which had ſo long ceaſed to be enforced; and of which the execution was entruſted, not to the voluntary ſubſcription of the Profeſſors, but to a requiſition for that purpoſe from the Preſbytery.—They were perfectly ready to appear before the Reverend Preſbytery, if ſuch a requiſition, after ſo long a period of diſuſe, ſhould be renewed; by accepting their offices in the Univerſity, they neceſſarily underſtood, that their aſſent to the Confeſſion of Faith of the National Church was as fully implied, as their allegiance to the civil Government of the country; and they had accordingly been always ready, when called on by the Reverend Preſbytery for the one purpoſe, or by the Civil Magiſtrate for the other, to give that public and formal teſtimony of their faith, and of their allegiance, which is enjoined by law. In the mean time, the Senatus Academicus flattered themſelves, that it would not be conſidered as preſumptuous on their part, to remind ſuch of the younger members of the Preſbytery, as were formerly their own pupils, (and the ſenior Profeſſors had the pleaſure to remark, that theſe form, at preſent, a very large proportion of that Reverend Body), that the intereſts of religion are moſt effectually promoted, by its happy influence on the character and temper of its miniſters; and that an extraordinary profeſſion of zeal for its external forms is never ſo likely to afford matter of triumph to its enemies, as when a ſuſpicion is allowed to ariſe in the public mind, that it has been employed in ſubſerviency to the intereſted views of individuals, or to the purpoſes of an Eccleſiaſtical Party.' The original anſwer of the Senatus Academicus is printed in the Appendix to the Third Edition of Mr Stewart's pamphlet, and appears to us a maſterpiece of dignified cenſure.

In the mean time, the active calumnies againſt Mr Leſlie's character were not ſuſpended, and the ruin of his proſpects ſeemed an object on which thoſe perſons had ſet their hearts. Theſe calumnies, ſanctioned for a moment to the public by the ſacred profeſſion where they originated, were circulated with ſuch diligence, that the injured perſon was induced, in a letter to one of the Magiſtrates, to make a ſolemn profeſſion of his ſentiments. This letter, though not included among Mr Stewart's papers, was printed in the courſe of the proceedings, and contains, on the part

part of Mr Leslie, a plain and distinct avowal of his religious opinions. After noticing, with pious affection, that he had received a most virtuous and religious education, in the bosom of a family distinguished by its exemplary lives; he declares, that the impressions of his early years, no distance of time, or change of circumstances, can ever efface: if his mind was more enlarged by culture, he had likewise learned to see more deeply the importance of those truths which fixed men together in society: his time had been almost wholly spent in abstract researches, and the study of the sublime operations of nature: he regarded the religious institutions of his native country as at once rational, decent, and impressive: and while he venerated the great principles of Christianity, he was solicitous to mark, by his external behaviour, that respect which he cherished. While he thus sought to vindicate himself in the estimation of his fellow citizens, two most respectable clergymen, in that part of the country where he had usually resided, felt themselves called upon, in justice to calumniated innocence, to step forward voluntarily in his defence. Both of them had had the fullest opportunity of knowing his religious sentiments; and one in particular, the minister of the parish where he spent his youth, and where he always continued to reside occasionally, bore the most authoritative testimony to 'his unstained moral character, his becoming respect to religion, and his tender discharge of every filial duty.'

When his enemies found that their defamation was thus triumphantly repelled, and that they were brought nearly to an end of all their devices for defeating his election, they betook themselves at the last moment to one the most ignominious to themselves, and the most mortifying to those who have been accustomed to confide in the improved knowledge and opinions of the present age. In Mr Leslie's Experimental Inquiry into the Nature and Propagation of Heat, a work which had been recently crowned by the most flattering of all distinctions to a natural philosopher of this country, the public approbation of the Royal Society of London, and which abounds in curious researches into some of the most complicated phenomena in Physics, these Inquisitors detected a note in which he has delivered a most deserved commendation of Mr Hume's metaphysical essay on the idea of necessary connexion. With matchless ignorance of the whole subject, and the most criminal insensibility to the deadly and disgraceful wound which they were about to inflict, they accused Mr Leslie of having publicly adopted a doctrine, which involved all the atheistical principles of Mr Hume's philosophy; and they prepared themselves to advance this charge with all the imposing solemnity of official forms. Mr Stewart has described, in the following words,

the ſentiments which were firſt raiſed in his mind when he received intelligence of this accuſation.

'Of the exiſtence of ſuch a note I had never heard before; nor indeed could I eaſily conceive how it was poſſible to introduce the alleged diſcuſſion into a work purely phyſical. That the charge was completely unfounded, my knowledge of Mr Leſlie ſatisfied me from the beginning; but I thought it poſſible, that if, by any accident, he had been led to venture on metaphyſical ground, (which of all my acquaintance he ſeemed the leaſt likely to do), he might, in diſcuſſing ſome point which he had not duly ſtudied, have ſtumbled on ambiguous expreſſions which would require explanation. I accordingly ſent for the book, which till then I had never opened, and was not a little aſtoniſhed, when I found that the paſſage objected to contained nothing (nothing at leaſt connected with the alleged charge) but what I myſelf, and many others much wiſer and better than me, had openly avowed as their opinions.' p. 30.

We ſhall inſert the paſſage itſelf from Mr Leſlie's book. After having detailed a courſe of very remarkable and original experiments on the radiation of heat, and the manner in which it is communicated among inſulated bodies, he prepares his reader, perhaps unneceſſarily, for a diſquiſition on the nature of this ſubſtance, by views of a wider compaſs with reſpect to the corpuſcular conſtitution of the external material world. He adopts the leading principles of that theory, which has rendered the name of Father Boſcovich ſo famous; and in the ſequel of this expoſition, he is led unavoidably to cenſure, as unphiloſophical, all attempts to explain the ultimate action of bodies on each other by the hypotheſis of an æther or other inviſible *intermedium*.

The eighth chapter of the Inquiry is cloſed with theſe reflections, which appear to Mr Stewart very juſt and ſtriking.

'It is a remarkable and inſtructive fact in the hiſtory of philoſophy, that impulſion ſhould have been at one period the only force that was admitted. The motion of a falling ſtone was certainly not leſs familiar to the ſenſes than that of a ſtone which is thrown; but in the latter caſe, the contact of the hand was obſerved to precede the flight of the projectile, and this circumſtance ſeemed to fill up the void, and ſatisfy the imagination. Gravitation founded like an occult quality; it was neceſſary to aſſign ſome mechanical cauſe; and if there were no viſible impulſes to account for the weight of a body, might not that office be performed by ſome ſubtile inviſible agent? Such was the ſway of metaphyſical prejudice, that even Newton, forgetting his uſual caution, ſuffered himſelf to be borne along. In an evil hour he threw out thoſe haſty conjectures concerning æther, which have ſince proved ſo alluring to ſuperficial thinkers, and which have in a very ſenſible degree impeded the progreſs of genuine ſcience. So far from reſolving weight or preſſure into impulſe, we have ſeen that the very reverſe takes place, and that impulſe itſelf is only a modification of preſſure. This ſtate-

ment,

ment, has already some distinguished adherents, and must in time become the received opinion. Science has experienced much obstruction from the mysterious notions long entertained concerning causation.' p. 135-6.

To this passage of the text he has subjoined a note, containing some illustrations of what is now the received and unquestionably the true doctrine of causation, in physics, derived from an etymological comparison of the popular phrases for cause and effect in different languages. These illustrations are new, and some of them very plausible. In introducing them to the notice of his reader, he speaks in the following terms of the philosopher, to whom the world is indebted for the first illustrations, and for the first clear statement, of that true doctrine of causation. All the atheism which Mr Leslie was charged with promulgating, will be found to lurk among these sentences.

'Mr Hume is the first, as far as I know, who has treated of causation in a truly philosophic manner. His *Essay on Necessary Connexion* seems a model of clear and accurate reasoning. But it was only wanted to dispel the cloud of mystery which had so long darkened that important subject. The unsophisticated sentiments of mankind are in perfect unison with the deductions of logic, and imply nothing more at bottom, in the relation of cause and effect, than a *constant and invariable sequence*. This will distinctly appear from a critical examination of language, that great and durable monument of human thought.' p. 521. Note XVI.

The main purpose of the passage is evidently to express, in the author's own words, this great rule of philosophical inquiry. It is only incidentally that he speaks of Mr Hume; he may even appear rather disposed to lower the merit of that philosopher, as if the principle he had discovered lay upon the very surface, among the ordinary phrases and words of the multitude; though this indeed would furnish fresh evidence of the reality of the discovery, and shew what an accurate observation of the human mind must have enabled the metaphysician to trace out, into the form of a precise theorem, a truth which was buried for ages under the metaphors and confusion of popular language. The terms in which the *Essay on Necessary Connexion* is spoken of, as a model of clear and accurate reasoning, so far from appearing to us inconsiderate or unwarrantable praise, fall short of the manner in which we should have been apt to mention the most valuable contribution to philosophical logic, that has been made since the publication of Lord Bacon's writings. It is most natural for a scholar, upon all occasions, to point out to others the sources from which he has drawn his best habits of speculation; and, upon the outset of a scientific journey, to express his gratitude to those benefactors who have lighted up his route. It is more peculiarly proper to make such acknowledgements with respect to a writer, the whole of whose philosophical labours may not have proved

equally beneficial, and the unpopularity of whose name might conceal from the majority of students such parts of his compositions as are not only unexceptionable, but of permanent and inestimable value. It was for such a tribute of justice to Mr Hume, in the single passage which we have quoted, that the charge of *atheism* was to be brought against Mr Leslie, as if he had thereby proclaimed his acquiescence in the whole system of that sceptical metaphysician. To those who are qualified to appretiate the value of this peculiar part of Mr Hume's writings, and who recollect how frequently it has been mentioned in terms of applause by many pious as well as profound philosophers, it will appear quite incontrovertible, that far other motives, than a pure zeal for the interests of religion, must have instigated such an accusation. The consequences of it would have been, if true, to blast Mr Leslie's fortune, and deliver him up (as Mr Stewart has expressed it) 'to the scorn and execration of the wise and good in every quarter of the globe.' One is driven to forget almost which quarter of the globe is ours, and which age of the world, when we witness all the maxims thus trampled on by which its civilization is maintained. The poisoned arrows of the savage are again brought into use, when such awful imputations are cast at random, in the wantonness of personal hostility. Our jurisprudence is darkened over once more, if crimes are to require slighter proof, as they become more flagitious and incredible. Our rational, humane, and purified institutions of religion, are sunk deep into former corruptions, if the consecrated servants of our faith may with impunity employ its great sanctions in subserviency to an interested cabal, or successfully direct their inquisitorial vengeance against any individuals, however innocent, that stand in the way of their temporal emolument.

When Mr Leslie heard there was to be a meeting of the Ministers of Edinburgh for the purpose of opposing his election, and that the contents of this note in his book were made the ground of so dreadful an accusation, he addressed a letter to Dr Hunter, the venerable Professor of Divinity, which he requested him to communicate to his brethren. In this letter, he calls their attention to the distinct fact, that 'the note in question considers the relation between cause and effect entirely as an object of *physical* examination, being only a more full illustration of the reasonings in the text; and that, so far, he was supported by the voice of all the soundest philosophers and divines of the present age. The gross misapplication which Mr Hume had made of these premises, it did not fall under his plan to point out in a treatise entirely confined to physical discussions; more particularly as that had been done by Dr Reid and various other writers, in

a manner which he conceived to be completely satisfactory to every reader who understands the argument. Had he been aware of the possibility, that his silence on this point might afford the slightest colour to a misrepresentation of his real sentiments, he would have guarded against it effectually, by following out the speculation a little farther than the nature of his subject seemed to him to require. In the mean time, he disavowed, with the greatest sincerity and solemnity, every inference which his opponents might be pleased to draw, from the partial view he had taken of the general doctrine, to the prejudice of those evidences on which the truths of religion are founded. And he pledged himself, in the next edition of his work, to shew, in an additional paragraph, how grossly and injuriously he had been misrepresented upon this occasion.' After so full an explanation, nothing surely remained to be done for the satisfaction of such minds, as had entertained a genuine and conscientious suspicion. The Professor of Divinity declared himself perfectly satisfied; his candour in this declaration, and the firmness with which he resisted all the subsequent violence and folly on the part of his younger brethren, form the most reproachful contrast with the spirit by which they were incited. There is no circumstance by which this spirit was evinced more strongly, than by their conduct about this letter. Dr Hunter transmitted it to their meeting, accompanied with his own opinion, that the proceedings against Mr Leslie should be dropped. They received these, while engaged in their deliberations about presenting a remonstrance to the Magistrates against Mr Leslie as a man of infidel principles; and not only did they reject his ample and anxious explanation as nothing in the least satisfactory to their own judgement, but fearing it might have a different influence on other minds, they *suppressed* all notice of it in the remonstrance which they resolved upon; and while they affected to express a willingness to attend to any explanation that might be offered, they avoided giving the slightest intimation that such a letter had been received by them, or even existed. They presented their remonstrance forthwith to the Magistrates; and the Magistrates immediately thereafter elected Mr Leslie to the Professorship of Mathematics.

This Representation and Protest may be regarded, now that we are safe from the persecution which it denounced, as a sort of literary and historical curiosity. It gives us the creed of these reverend gentlemen, upon a very profound branch of metaphysical learning, and upon the fundamental maxims of natural theology. This creed was promulgated, after deliberate preparation, with much official solemnity; and it proves to be no other than that which Spinosa assumed as the most convenient basis of his Naturalism,

ism, and which was greedily seized, and announced in the very same terms with those of our ministers, by Robinet, Mirabaud, and the other licentious sophists of later times. In accusing Mr Leslie of atheism in what he had denied, they declared what he ought to have believed, and what they now taught to the Magistrates, and through them to the University of Edinburgh, viz. '*Such a necessary connexion between cause and effect, as implies an operating principle in the cause.*' The fate of these gentlemen, in precipitating themselves into a doctrine like this, may long be a warning, how full of peril it is, that the cause of religion should be defended by those who are ignorant of the great principles upon which its demonstration is founded, or will not scruple to misrepresent them in the chicane of a worldly dispute. By proposing their doctrine as the orthodox substitute for that in which Mr Leslie had expressed his acquiescence, they asserted the existence of a *necessary* connexion between those causes and effects, in the relation of which he had affirmed that the human mind can trace nothing more than an *invariable sequence*; yet the consequence of this doctrine would be, by the very definition of Necessity, that the physical phenomena of the universe are as independent of a Superior Agent as the propositions of geometry. The *operating principle*, which they would teach us as being implied by this necessary connexion, must reside either in each subordinate physical cause, or in the first efficient cause: if in the first efficient cause, then they teach us that the connexion of these subordinate phenona with the Supreme Being is necessary, and independent of his will: if in each physical cause, then they demand our belief to the disguised atheism of Spinosa, who held that physical causes are endued with active powers, or operating principles, which connect them necessarily with their effects; in other words, that physical and efficient causes are one and the same, and that all things are self-existent. The propositions of Natural Religon are thus incompatible with the supposition of a necessary connexion among physical causes and effects; for the government of a Supreme Intelligence implies, that the rules of nature are arbitrary, depending upon a Supreme Will. The discoveries of Mr Hume himself, in genuine philosophy, appear harmoniously consistent with those sublime views; and we are conducted from the principles of natural theology, as well as by the evidence of an humbler philosophy, to recognize this truth, that the scenes of the universe present to the human understanding only a contingent succession of appearances, which it is the task of science to contemplate and describe.

Prevented by their ignorance, or by passion, from taking this just view of the subject, the framers of the protest had no intention

tion that their persecution of Mr Leslie should cease with this recorded contrast between his opinions and their own. They determined to carry the business through the whole series of Church Courts; and, in the first instance, laid a representation before the Presbytery of Edinburgh, which they requested 'to take such steps as should in their wisdom seem most agreeable to the civil and religious institutions of this part of the kingdom.' A meeting of that Reverend Court was held in consequence, at which all the metaphysics and all the theology of this contested election were cast into long harangues. This scene was open to the idle public, and to the young men of the University. It may have been mirth to the profane, but it was truly distressing to such as venerate our national institutions, to witness reverend men working themselves into vehemence and quibbling, in an incomprehensible jargon about causes, and vinculums, and principles, and effects, and necessity. We have no thoughts of describing these debates in the Church Courts particularly, though they presented a very curious spectacle at the time; but we cannot omit to mention some extraordinary proofs that were exhibited at the Presbytery, of the blind rage by which one or two persons were actuated. A passage was read from another work of Mr Leslie, which expressed a pious train of sentiments upon the view of the works of Nature: it was thought a fit answer to this, to say, that his former piety, if it was so, must be considered as an aggravation of his present offence! The Inquiry on Heat is dedicated to the late Mr Thomas Wedgewood, with whom Mr Leslie had long maintained an affectionate intimacy, cherishing, in common with all who knew that benevolent and enlightened man, an admiration of that exquisite acuteness and profound capacity which have too soon been lost to science and the service of mankind. Mr Leslie's dedication, full of this admiration and gratitude, is overspread with a melancholy presentiment of his friend's dissolution. Even among those effusions of the best feelings that dignify the heart, and which might have softened even the asperity of an ecclesiastic opponent, it was possible for a Minister of Edinburgh (we spare his name) to pick out some half phrases, after breaking down a sentence, which he ventured to offer as a supplementary proof of irreligion. Those who have the book in their hand, will probably look in vain for the phrases that were thus perverted: they were never quoted but once, as this trial was probably felt to have been pushed too far.

At this point of our narrative, it begins to take a more satisfactory turn; for as the affair was now brought before the constitutional tribunals, those persons, to whom we have all along alluded, had to face other members of the Church, who were not likely either to join in such

ſuch proceedings, or to ſuffer them to paſs unreſiſted. Some of the members of the Preſbytery propoſed that all farther conſideration of this buſineſs ſhould be diſmiſſed, as incompetent to be diſcuſſed in that Court: and this motion was loſt by a bare majority of 14 to 13; in conſequence of which, a motion of the other party was carried for a reference to the Synod. At a meeting of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, it was reſolved, by a great majority, that the whole caſe ſhould be referred to the enſuing General Aſſembly. But againſt this reſolution of the Synod, a diſſent was entered, and a proteſt for leave to complain to the General Aſſembly for redreſs.

In the interval before the meeting of the General Aſſembly, attempts were made to raiſe a prejudice in the public mind againſt Mr Leſlie, and to influence, extrajudicially, the opinions of thoſe who were afterwards to ſit as judges upon the queſtion; particularly by an anonymous diſſertation in the newſpapers, in which both Mr Leſlie's approbation of Hume, and the contents of his explanatory letter to Dr Hunter, were moſt ſhamefully miſrepreſented; and afterwards by a memorial, circulated clandeſtinely in different parts of the country, libellous and inflammatory againſt Mr Leſlie, and all thoſe who defended him. It was in conſequence of theſe publications, that Mr Stewart felt it incumbent upon himſelf to undertake the taſk of ſtating the real nature of the caſe, both in reſpect of the injury that had been perpetrated againſt Mr Leſlie, and of the danger that threatened more general intereſts. He had been elected to repreſent the Univerſity of Edinburgh at this enſuing General Aſſembly, and muſt have looked to the approaching deciſion with a concern too exquiſite to be participated by any, but thoſe who have themſelves ſpent their life in diffuſing the lights and bleſſings of philoſophy. He ſaw a doctrine menaced with the anathemas of the Church, which he himſelf, for more than twenty years, had laboured to eſtabliſh, from the firmeſt conviction of its importance, not merely to the progreſs of phyſical ſcience, but to the beſt intereſts of mankind: and he ſaw perſecution preparing, as of old, to diſplay her banners, in defence of an inconſiſtent jargon of metaphyſical words, which waged war with the human underſtanding. Under the proſpect of ſuch conſequences, it was indeed incumbent upon thoſe to ſtep forward, whoſe high ſtation in the public opinion, and whoſe forbearance from the ordinary occurrences of the day, render their interpoſition upon great emergencies deciſive. To this ſenſe of duty we owe the preſent publication of Mr Stewart, ſo different in its occaſion from the compoſitions in which he bequeaths himſelf to future times, but which will ſtill preſerve ſome value on account of its learning,

learning, after the temporary subject is forgotten. There is no other chance, perhaps, that the names of those who gave birth to it, or the deeds by which they have marked themselves during their own time, should ever afterwards be heard of but in this little tract by the author of the Philosophy of the Human Mind.

He has stated the leading circumstances of fact very nearly as we have copied them into our narrative, and then proceeds to an enumeration of the passages which sanction, with the greatest names in theology as well as in philosophy, that doctrine which, upon occasions of reference like that in Mr Leslie's work, is more properly cited from Hume, by whom it has been most fully and most accurately expounded. We have undeniable *anticipations* of this doctrine, quoted from the mathematical lectures of Dr BARROW, from the works of Dr SAMUEL CLARKE, from the philosophical writings of Bishop BERKELEY, and from the sermons of Bishop BUTLER, the most illustrious names in the theological and metaphysical literature of England. We have likewise *approbations* of that doctrine, subsequent to the publication of it by Hume, quoted from the writings of Dr Richard Price, Dr Reid of Glasgow, the late Professor Waring of Cambridge, and the late Professor John Robison of Edinburgh, writers professedly opposed to all the sceptical tenets of Hume, and peculiarly distinguished by the anxiety and vigilance of their own pious persuasions. Having thus proved that the doctrine, objected to in Mr Leslie's Note, coincides with the opinion entertained by a great majority of the soundest divines and philosophers, Mr Stewart proceeds to show, that the metaphysical test, proposed by Mr Leslie's accusers, is devoid of any meaning whatsoever, except what cannot in Christian charity be supposed to have been really intended, being intelligible as an enunciation of the fatalism of Spinosa, but (if that interpretation be excluded) a dark and inexplicable enigma. Mr Stewart concludes his pamphlet with a dignified justification of his own motives for descending to such a controversy; and subjoins an appendix, in which he has preserved those two anonymous libels which we last mentioned, and the answer of the Senatus Academicus to the remonstrance about the Confession of Faith. Besides Mr Stewart's tract, another was published a day or two before the meeting of the Assembly, entitled, '*Observations on the Nature and Tendency of the Doctrine of Mr Hume concerning Cause and Effect.*' This work appeared without any name, and avoided every allusion to the circumstances of the present controversy which suggested it. The design of it is to separate, in a distinct series of propositions, those speculations of Mr Hume which form a just analysis of our notions of causation, from the sceptical consequences which he has illogically

ly deduced from that analysis, by mingling with it an unproved hypothesis respecting the origin of ideas and the nature of belief. It would do honour to the most penetrating metaphysician of the age to have avowed this essay: we recognise, very confidently, in its subtlety, precision, and quaint delicacy of expression, the talents that were once before employed with great success against a very popular sophist in other branches of science.

The General Assembly met, and, agreeably to the forms of procedure in that Court, the protest and complaint against the last resolution of the Synod were submitted to its consideration; and, in this shape, the whole merits of the question were discussed, in a debate which was prolonged during two entire days. The vote was at length called, whether this complaint should be sustained or dismissed; and the majority, of 96 above 84, determined that it should be sustained, and thus confirmed the protest of those who had dissented from the resolution of the Synod. A narrow majority indeed! most ignominious to them who composed such a minority on such a question! and enough to justify all the fears of those who spared no exertion to avert so imminent a danger! We hope some account of this extraordinary debate will be published, to gratify the curiosity of future antiquaries, and the future historians of Scotish manners. * The best talents that Scotland can at present furnish from the church, the peerage, the academy, and the bar, were powerfully displayed (and yet with so slender a triumph!) in defending maxims of received and demonstrated philosophy against the incoherent rhapsodies, the boisterous

* We are happy to announce to our readers, that a very full and accurate account of this whole debate has been published since the above was prepared for the press. It is by far the most complete specimen of the proceedings of our *Scotish Convocation* that has ever been offered to the world, and will be read, we do not doubt, with interest, by all who have any curiosity to be made acquainted with the nature and effects of this part of our establishment. The talents displayed upon both sides of the question are highly creditable to the Assembly, and could not easily be matched, we believe, in any church court in the world. We are sorry we cannot say so much for the candour or liberality of the minority. We cannot enter at present into the merits of the discussion; but it is impossible to avoid alluding to that flagrant violation of all fairness or justice by which Mr Leslie's opponents took upon them to tell the Assembly, that, by the words 'necessary connexion' in their famous protest, they meant only 'a conditional or contingent necessity;' at the same time that they obstinately refused to give any credit to Mr Leslie, when he assured them that, by the word 'causes' in a work which was entirely occupied with physics, he meant 'physical causes' only. See 'Account of the Proceedings,' &c. p. 44. 84. &c.

terous defamation, and the ignorant jargon of men, among whom the truth seemed by some disregarded, and by the rest utterly unknown. It must have been a wild and ludicrous spectacle to the strangers by whom it was witnessed, and for which they could not have been prepared even by all the misconceptions they had been taught about Scotish metaphysics and Scotish Calvinism. They may well despair of communicating to their countrymen in the south any just conception of such an exhibition, and express their impatience, that this new chapter should be faithfully compiled for the next edition of Scotish Presbyterian Eloquence Displayed.

Such was the final issue of a contest, more discreditable to them in whose ignorance and vindictive malice it originated, and fuller of anxiety to those who were called upon to repress the mischief, than any that, for a long period of years, has violated the peace of literature and the church. We shared that anxiety most keenly, for we saw very clearly that there were involved in the question, not merely an individual philosopher's good name and fortunes, or the future destiny of the College of Edinburgh, but all the interests of learning and toleration in this part of the island. The circumstances of the dispute will probably be soon forgotten; but it is right that they should be found somewhere collected, least future cabals among the same set of persons should again disturb our tranquillity, and render the judgement of the public upon the late occasion a fit precedent to be consulted. Where such violence has been offered to the rights of free inquiry, and the best means of knowledge brought into danger, we cannot suffer the occasion to pass without a full expression of our sentiments. We waited, indeed, purposely, until we could look back upon the subject from a calmer distance; and we have gained, by this delay, the additional satisfaction of knowing what impression was made in the south by the account of such proceedings, both among men of letters and the other enlightened judges of public occurrences. The astonishment and indignation which they have uniformly expressed, even at that distance from local interests, and in spite of differences in party as well as in opinions, are at once the best assurance to those upon the spot, that their feelings were not too strong, and the most effectual condemnation and punishment of the offenders.

Among the immediate effects of the decision in the General Assembly, nothing afforded us so much pleasure, as that justice was thereby rendered to Mr Leslie. He cannot but be regarded as a man who does honour to his country by his genius, and by a life devoted to the labours of science. The discoveries and improvements which he has communicated to the world form already a large contribution, and yet seem an earnest only of what he has

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in reserve, to be matured by farther experiments and more extensive speculation. The rewards provided for such excellence are, in this kingdom, very slender, but the purest of them are of that description which he has lately obtained, and which places him in a situation of at once performing new services to the public, and prosecuting, without distraction, his favourite studies. That list of illustrious predecessors, at the foot of which his name is now added, will inspire an ambition to prove himself not unworthy of continuing their line, while it reminds him how much will be expected, and with what persevering ardour he must toil to follow out their great example.

'We flatter ourselves also, that the recent discussion has not been wholly without its use in another respect of great local importance; by impressing upon the public at large, and especially upon the Patrons of the University, the danger of departing from that system of single and exclusive professorships, under which alone it can prosper. If our limits would admit it, we should be happy to insert the whole of Mr Playfair's letter on this subject to the Lord Provost; it is perfectly conclusive, and discovers all that perspicuity of statement, fulness of reasoning, and judicious illustration, for which his more important compositions are so much admired. We shall use Mr Stewart's language to express, in common with him, our hope that the good effects of this letter may be perpetuated among the successors of our present Magistrates, when the details of that competition, by which it was occasioned, have sunk into oblivion. What Mr Playfair has so amply proved, in the instance of the Professor of Mathematics, is true, more or less, of all the other branches into which the academical labours of this place are divided. The duties of his class alone, are fully adequate to the talents and diligence of the teacher, if he discharges them with a faithful regard to his own fame, and to the progress of the science which he has undertaken to expound. That exclusive occupation, which alone preserves excellence even in mechanical employments, cannot fail to be at least equally necessary in the cultivation of an intricate and copious science; and here, as in the other case, it will be found, that the capacity of doing one thing well, is invariably more productive than that of doing several things indifferently. Even a lifetime of uniform pursuit proves unequal to the mastery of any important art, in which fresh difficulties for ever arise to be overcome by untried resources of skill, or to the exhausting of a single science, where new relations multiply themselves, as we proceed, faster than we can possibly overtake them. But if our time be shattered, through its whole course, by the interfering claims of mixed occupations, we may fatigue ourselves indeed, but we shall work with no effective ardour;

ardour; and our exertions, though they may show a certain form of routine, will prove unprofitable to others, and without honour to ourselves. These considerations, we agree with Mr Stewart and Mr Playfair in esteeming conclusive, even against the union of different academical offices, though their provinces might seem to border upon each other; but they apply, with infinitely greater force, against uniting an academical office with a living in the Church, which imposes duties of much higher import, large enough to engross the best time of any clergyman who will perform them conscientiously, precluding all other arrangements of leisure from the uncertainty with which some of the most sacred of those duties recur, far from being adverse to private relaxations in literature or philosophy, but wholly incompatible with the prolonged and unbroken studies in which the public professor must persevere. It is not by any means that the clerical order operates as a disqualification for science; but that the actual possession of a benefice, and the proper discharge of its functions, can leave no time or zeal for another laborious occupation wholly different in its nature. Our Universities have often drawn from the Church their most distinguished masters; and the instances of Dr Reid, Dr Ferguson, and Mr Playfair, not to mention a variety of others, will prove how little it is our interest to exclude from professorships such ministers as may be induced, by their literary taste or attainments, to prefer the labours of a college to those of an ecclesiastical charge. But these very names furnish an authority also, from the best judges, that the case is an alternative, in which he who has a right sense of duty will content himself with the choice.

Under these indisputable maxims for the government and patronage of our Scotish Universities, they have hitherto flourished, and always in proportion, very nearly, as those maxims have been observed. If they should unhappily be lost sight of under a future succession of patrons, less firm against the intrigues of an interested party constantly upon the spot, and incessantly active, the fate of the University of Edinburgh may be foreseen with absolute certainty. Instead of a competition extended over the whole kingdom, wherever the required talents and learning can be found, its choice of philosophical teachers will be narrowed to a small class of professional men, who will parcel out the sciences among themselves, like the little offices of a corporation: and for the ardour with which philosophers have toiled upon sciences growing under their own hands, and the enthusiasm which they have breathed into their pupils, there will be substituted a languid, unvaried, obsolete routine; and systems and jargons, long dead and forgotten in the world, will be delivered over, in academical entail, from one succession to another. Hear-

ers indeed will not long be found; the times are paſt of ſuch implicit patience: and our young men will reſort, as thoſe of other countries have reſorted here, where they can be inſtructed in thoſe ſciences which occupy the reſt of mankind, and prepare them for the affairs of life. Symptoms of this ſort have already too plainly appeared, and may well alarm us of their progreſs. We know not if it is our anxiety that beſets us with theſe prophetic fears. We might take confidence from the proof which the electors gave upon the late occaſion, of *their* honourable and juſt principles in the exerciſe of their patronage. But we tremble to think that, by the conſtitution of this patronage, it muſt fall into other hands; and that the impulſes theſe have hitherto received from a higher ſource, have been unmixed with any tenderneſs for the fame of our College, or any regard to the intereſts of learning. Indeed, ſince the deciſion of the General Aſſembly laid Mr Leſlie's affair at reſt, and much more ſince the unanimous judgment of the public inflicted diſgrace upon his accuſers, our anxiety has been wholly transferred to this part of the caſe, which we have explained to be the origin of all that enſued. We cannot leave it, therefore, without entreating our readers, if there are any among them whoſe opinion may be of weight in this local concern, to conſider very carefully the reaſons of our fear, and the fatal conſequences which we have predicted.

We cannot refrain, at the ſame time, from remarking, that it is this very part of the ſtory, the intereſted and pecuniary motive of the perſecution which was attempted, that muſt render it leſs acceptable to the curioſity of thoſe who care nothing for Edinburgh, but as a ſubject of hiſtory. They might perhaps fall into the miſtake of referring all this ignorant violence, about cauſes and effects, to that ſincere though intemperate fanaticiſm, whoſe exploits in former days were occaſionally heard of beyond the Tweed; and might have looked upon the proceedings againſt Mr Leſlie as a proof, that that untamed ſpirit of Calviniſm ſtill poſſeſſed the miniſters of Edinburgh, which, fifty years ago, perſecuted a clergyman for writing the tragedy of Douglas; and, fifty years before that, murdered a ſtudent of philoſophy, who, in his private ſpeculations, had fallen into doubts of the evidence of revelation. But the recent occurrences are not to be claſſed with theſe diſmal errors of miſtaken principle. They belong not to the annals of any peculiar fanaticiſm. Such perſons as have watched the progreſs of parties in the Church of Scotland will readily apprehend our obſervation. If the denominations of faction were to be ſtill retained, after the conduct to which they were applied ſeems obliterated, we ſhould have to tell, that the

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cauſe of genuine philoſophy was defended by the *fanatics*; while the flames of perſecution were kindling by the *moderates*. That deſcription of miniſters, who have always proudly avowed a more ſtrict adherence to the peculiar ſtandards of our Church in diſcipline and faith, while they are ſtill characterized by a predilection for topics of doctrine, and by the more uſeful diſtinction of paſtoral aſſiduities, have loſt, in a more enlarged education, and a more liberal intercourſe with mankind, thoſe feelings of intolerance which diſgraced their predeceſſors; and, in the caſe of Mr Leſlie, have proved themſelves equal to the ſoundeſt learning of the times, and true to the great maxims of toleration. On the other hand, the late attempted perſecution, together with the remonſtrance about ſubſcription, were the acts of a ſet of men who have always held themſelves forth as the lineal deſcendants of Principal Robertſon's party, and his ſucceſſors, in the adminiſtration of the Church. How it would have moved the hiſtorian's indignation, who thought it not unbecoming of his office to publiſh his teſtimony to the profoundneſs as well as eloquence of Mr Hume, and maintained with that philoſopher an intercourſe which reflects honour upon both, and whoſe manly underſtanding, upon the very ſubject of ſubſcriptions, took the ſtart of the times in which he lived, had he ſurvived to hear of his name being uſed by men who were violating every principle by which he had laboured to tranquillize and enlighten the politics of his national Church!

It may be expected, that we ſhould not conclude our ſtrictures on this ſubject, without a word upon the metaphyſical queſtion, which was made a pretext of ſuch clamour and outrage. We have nothing, however, to offer, but a repetition of that doctrine concerning the relation of phyſical effects to their cauſes, and concerning the proper object of experimental inquiry, in which all men of philoſophical education are now perfectly agreed. Little remained to be done in improving the ſtatement of this important principle of logic, after the publication of Mr Hume's eſſay on the idea of neceſſary connexion: except, indeed, what was reſerved for Mr Stewart, to collect thoſe imperfect anticipations of the ſame thought which had occurred to ſeveral of Hume's greateſt predeceſſors; and, by this hiſtorical progreſs of the doctrine, to give an indirect, but forcible * confirmation of its reality and importance, as well as of the genius that was required to unfold it in perfect ſhape. As the principle is not merely interwo-

* See this remark formerly ſtated by us more at large, and the preſent inſtance particularly noticed, in our review of Canard's Political Œconomy. Vol. I. p. 446.

ven with those of the inductive method of philosophizing, but is itself the very foundation of that method, it may be traced in a variety of passages throughout the writings of Lord Bacon, more or less clouded with extraneous notions, but sometimes upon the point of being clearly brought out. He declares, for example, that the design of his logic is to direct the philosophical inquiries of mankind—'ad ipsa particularia et eorum series et ordines;' and, in the very first aphorism of the Novum Organon, he lays this simple and fundamental proposition, '*Homo Naturæ Interpres, tantum intelligit quantum de Naturæ ordine re vel mente observaverit.*' Mr Stewart justly observes, that this aphorism will be acknowledged, by all who are able to form a judgment of its import, to express precisely the same doctrine with Mr Leslie's note, and in a manner still more strong and unqualified; for if it were to be construed according to that mode of interpretation which was applied to the note, this aphorism would not only imply by inference, but would explicitly assert, that we know nothing whatever concerning the existence of the Deity and his attributes. But the writer's design was to enunciate an axiom of logic; and to define the true object of all those sciences which proceed by the methods of experiment and observation; and it would have been wholly from the purpose, to have digressed, in the same sentence, to the doctrines of Natural Theology.

This fundamental axiom of the inductive logic stands in quite a different relation to the propositions of natural religion, from that in which Mr Leslie's accusers attempted to represent it. It does not indeed form the basis on which those propositions rest, in the same manner as they insisted that their contrary axiom formed such a basis. But it is strictly consistent with what forms the real basis of all those propositions; and the bare outline of the universe, to which it confines the natural philosopher in his scientific researches, is perfectly adapted to be the frame of those splendid and harmonious designs which are spread out to his contemplation in natural theology. On the contrary, the doctrine which Mr Leslie's accusers have expressed, with respect to the physical constitution of things, though they certainly did not mean such a doctrine, would strike from the face of the world all such indications of original arrangement and continued agency, and would exclude us even from the fundamental truth which is the basis of all these sublime views.

It is one fact with regard to the human understanding, that we never can perceive in the course of nature such a connexion between two successive events, as might enable us to infer the one from the other as a necessary consequence. This fact is the foundation of the inductive logic. It is another and quite a different fact,

fact, observed in the human understanding, that we have a notion of efficient cause; it has puzzled some theorists to explain the origin of this notion, according to their peculiar systems; but the existence of the notion in the mind is a fact, independent of all systems. It is a third fact observed with regard to the understanding, that when we once consider any thing as having begun to exist, we infer with intuitive belief that that beginning of existence must have had an efficient cause. This is an intuition of the mind, irresistible and underived from any more simple truth. It is the basis of the propositions of natural theology; for when we consider the universe as having begun to exist, we intuitively and irresistibly refer that beginning of existence to an efficient cause. Our understanding being brought to recognise a First Cause, the attributes are unfolded to our knowledge by a process of reasoning, equally irresistible, upon the evidences of intelligent and benevolent design, which are multiplied innumerably throughout the whole frame of the visible and conscious creation.

The supposition, however, of a principle operating by necessity in each physical cause, would blot out of nature all this moral grandeur. It converts these instances of a skilful and kind adaptation into essential results from the dead properties of matter; and the same material energy, that would preserve the order of the world for ever, renders it superfluous to have recourse to any other beginning. On such a principle of necessary connexion, accordingly, was founded, not only the Atheism of Spinosa, as we observed already, but that of almost all those Atomists, whose systems have been collected by Cudworth; and it was an idea, that M. de la Place was about to revive the same sort of dogma in a geometric form, which filled Professor Robison with the apprehensions that he expressed somewhat too decidedly in a recent publication.

In order to form a just conception of the natural or original state of our impressions upon those subjects, it is necessary to disentangle ourselves, if possible, from the illusions of ordinary language, and the metaphysical fictions of the schoolmen. The plain and legitimate confession, that the human understanding traces no more in the course of nature than an invariable sequence, asserts or denies nothing as to what may be the bond of connexion, whether necessary or not, except that (whatever it is) it is not a subject of human knowledge or conjecture. And thus, while it delivers us from that hypothetical necessity which would subvert all religion, it leaves the mind open for the reception of those conclusions concerning the origin and government of the world, which are deduced by other reasonings. We cannot close

this part of the subject more properly than in the words of Mr Stewart; and we shall prefer a passage in his Philosophy of the Human Mind, rather than one to the same effect, which we might have taken from this little tract.

'Mr Hume had the merit of shewing clearly to philosophers, that our common language with respect to cause and effect is merely analogical; and that if there be any links among physical events, they must for ever remain invisible to us. If this part of his system be admitted, and if, at the same time, we admit the authority of that principle of the mind which leads us to refer every change to an efficient cause, Mr Hume's doctrine seems to be more favourable to Theism, than even the common notions upon the subject, as it keeps the Deity always in view, not only as the first, but as the constantly operating cause in nature, and as the great connecting principle among all the various phenomena which we observe.' p. 549.

ART. VIII. *L'Eneide; Traduite par Jacques De Lille.* 4 tomes. Paris, 1804.

Virgile à Jacques De Lille; ou Dialogue des Morts, sur la Traduction des Six Premiers Livres de l'Eneide. Par N. Quenneville. Paris, 1805.

We own that we are not among those who expect much from a new translation of any poet of eminence. Those who have been used to admire the original, reject a literal rendering of the words as tame and tasteless, and a more free manner as an unwarrantable change of what was good before. To translate literally and beautifully at the same time; to be at once 'true to the sense and fame' of the author, is, unless by a rare felicity here and there in a single line, or little more, beyond the compass of man's wit to accomplish. The first and most notorious obstacles are the rules of metre: the words which constitute a Latin hexameter will not, when correctly translated, fall into the ranks of a French or English verse; and the use of synonyms (which, to a reader who has studied language either as a philosopher or a man of taste, are always very few) is a very limited and precarious resource. This difficulty is prodigiously increased by the necessity of finding rhymes. If the sense of an original writer is so much modified (as all, who have made trial, must know that it is) by the imperious obligation of ending each couplet with a chime of sounds, what must be the case with a translator, and by what

what poſſibility can he adhere to the meaning of his text, without ſacrificing the eſſentials of metre?

But there are other impediments in the way of literal rendering which cannot be removed, though they are ſometimes overlooked at the expence of the goodneſs, and, conſequently, the popularity of the tranſlation. Every language has its own idiom—its own claſs of words appropriate to poetry—its own artifices of phraſe and rythmical ſtructure, in which, great part of what is ſtrictly called *ſtyle*, both in proſe and poetry, conſiſts. All this muſt be loſt in a foreign tongue; and, indeed, ſome part of it is often unperceived by foreigners in the original. What we loſe, however, of theſe lighter and indeſcribable touches of grace, when we read a language with which we are not thoroughly familiar, is made up to us, in many caſes, by the ſuperior effect which the ſenſe is apt to produce on us, where there is ſomething new in the words by which it is conveyed. We have not leiſure to inveſtigate this problem; but every man, we think, muſt have obſerved how much trite and common-place ſentiments appear to gain, when they are found in a Greek or Latin writer, and how totally the illuſion is diſſipated when we turn them into literal Engliſh. To this it muſt be added, that, from the exquiſite beauty of metrical ſtructure among the ancients, and the gratification which it conſequently gave to the ear, as well as from the general ſuperiority of their languages, much greater ſimplicity, in point of expreſſion, was preſerved, by many at leaſt of their great poets, than would be conſiſtent with the ſpirit and tone of poetry in our modern unmuſical tongues. The Italian, indeed, from the ſoftneſs of the language, the delicacy of its metrical rules, and the copiouſneſs of its poetical dialect, comes near to the ancient claſs; and accordingly, there is a general ſimplicity of ſtyle (we do not ſpeak of *thought*) which will not bear literal tranſlation into Engliſh or French.

The conſequence of all this is, that a man of taſte and fancy, who ſits down to preſent his countrymen with the portrait of an illuſtrious bard of antiquity, will be perpetually diſſatisfied with the bald and ſpiritleſs verſion which muſt reſult from a cloſe adherence to his text. He will therefore be led to lay the blame on himſelf, not on his ſyſtem; to touch and retouch; to heighten the colouring; to ſprinkle here an epithet, and there a metaphor; to make amends for the beauties which, like trees long uſed to their ſoil, will not bear tranſplanting, by new turns and images of his own; till, by degrees, perhaps, like the ever memorable ſtockings of Sir J. Cutler, very little trace is left of the original prototype. By this proceſs he may have ſome chance of producing a good poem, though probably not ſo good as if he had followed the bent of his own ge-

nius; but he will, beyond a doubt, call down on him the indignation of thoſe who diſcover how palpably he has deſerted the model which he propoſed to copy. This indignation is ſometimes rather unjuſt, ſince it imputes as a fault, that which was preſcribed by neceſſity: it is, however, well founded, where the copy differs from the original, as is often the caſe, not only in ſlighter ſhades of colour, but in the features and complexion of the whole. Theſe two extremes, of meagre copying, and of imitation ſo free and ſketchy as to leave no likeneſs, are to be found in our two tranſlations of Homer. After Pope had been cenſured, for near a century, for leading his unlearned readers to the moſt miſtaken eſtimate of the firſt of poets, (and the cenſure was ſurely not unfounded), there appeared, by a writer, of reputation hardly inferior to Pope's, a very different performance; the beſt uſe of which has been, to ſerve as a beacon and a ſea-mark, by which all ſucceeding poets may be warned to turn their helm from the perils of literal tranſlation.

The juſt medium ſeems to be, that every thing ſhould be allowed to the tranſlator, which, it may be fairly preſumed, would have been the choice of the author had he lived in our own time. The buſineſs of the tranſlator is to enter ſo fully, by long ſtudy and attention, into the mind of his original, that he may, as it were, look on every thing with the ſame eyes, and feel with the ſame ſoul. Whatever is thoroughly in the *manner* of Virgil may, when neceſſary, be introduced by him who renders Virgil into his own tongue; for the object of a poet is to pleaſe, and the object of Virgil was to pleaſe chiefly by the beauties and graces of diction: no one, therefore, can doubt that he would have rather, had he written in Engliſh, introduced a new image or epithet, than left a line weak and unpoetical. But what is not in the manner of an author, even though good, ſhould never be admitted; for a tranſlation ſeems primarily meant for the unlearned, and can only miſlead them, if it repreſents a poet as thinking and feeling as he would not have felt or thought. We extend this licenſe of deviation no farther than neceſſity requires, by which we intend a poetical, not merely a metrical, neceſſity.

There are, however, ſcarce any poems come down to us from antiquity, ſo ſuſceptible, in our judgment, of a modern dreſs, as thoſe of Virgil. They are ſo far from being marked by that naked ſimplicity of ſtyle, which is more frequently the characteriſtic of ancient poetry, and eſpecially of the Homeric, that they are, on the contrary, more highly and curiouſly wrought, than any other productions ancient or modern. Though the tranſlator, therefore, muſt loſe much, he may ſtill, out of ſuch abundance, retain a good deal; and, what is more, he may introduce ſuch ornaments as French and Engliſh poetry indiſpenſably

ſably require, with leſs riſk of deſerting the manner of his author. M. de Lille has ſhewn already, by his tranſlation of the Georgics, which is perhaps the beſt which has ever been made of them, that even ſuch an inſtrument as the French language, in the hands of ſkill and genius, may chiſel out no inadequate reſemblance of the moſt conſummate poetical excellence. Few, indeed, now living in Europe, are ſo competent to the labour of the work before us, from warmth of feeling and fancy, extent of poetical reading, or dexterity in the management of the reſources of their native language.

It is natural to look firſt at the beginning of the poem: the firſt lines, like the *prærogativa centuria* in the Roman *comitia*, are a ſort of omen of the reſt; and many readers, probably, decide upon the whole, without going any farther. We were ſorry to ſee, that M. de Lille conſiders the four lines, 'Ille ego qui quondam,' &c. as genuine, and tranſlates them accordingly. 'On y trouve,' ſays he, 'l'elegance, la grace, et la juſteſſe, philoſophique, qui le caracteriſent. Un poëte eſt toujours tenté, en ecrivant un ouvrage nouveau, de rappeler le ſouvenir de ceux qui l'ont précédé, et de prouver la flexibilité de ſon talent ſur la varieté des genres qu'il a traités.... Enfin, le poëte Latin a pour lui l'autorité d'Orphée, qui, dans le debut de ſon poëme des Argonautes, avoit rappelé tous ſes ouvrages précédens.' The lines, however, ſeem to us, as they have to almoſt all critics, neither elegant nor ſuitable. Many faults may be found with the expreſſion; and whatever temptation a poet may feel to recount his own triumphs upon Parnaſſus, it would be equally improper, and unlike the character of Virgil, to introduce them at the head of an epic poem. Beſides, the exordium of Homer, by a ſort of ſuperſtition which has laſted to the preſent time, was the eſtabliſhed model of the *epopœia*; and Virgil was, of all men, the leaſt likely to depart from it. The author of Madoc is the only poet who has thought theſe lines worthy of imitation. It is indeed quite natural that their authenticity ſhould be defended on the authority of the Argonautics of Orpheus; and we wiſh, as Moyle ſaid on another occaſion, no greater puniſhment to the believers of the one, than that they ſhould alſo give credit to the other.

The genuine introduction of the Æneid, makes the following appearance in the hands of M. de Lille:

'Je chante les combats et ce guerrier pieux
Qui, banni par le ſort des champs de ſes aïeux,
Et des bords Phrygiens, conduit dans l'Auſonie,
Aborda le premier aux champs de Lavinie.
Errant en cent climats, triſte jouet des flots,
Long-temps le ſort cruel pourſuivit ce héros,
Et ſervit de Junon la haine infatigable.

Que

Que n'imagina point la déeſſe implacable,
Lorſqu'il portoit ſes dieux chez ces fameux Albains,
Nobles fils d'Ilion, et pères des Romains,
Créoit du Latium la race triomphale,
Et des vainqueurs des rois la ville impériale ! '

We find no fault with the former part of theſe lines; the latter ſeems exceptionable. '*Que n'imagina point la déeſſe implacable,*' is a feeble verſe, very unworthy of the ſevere dignity which characteriſes the original. '*Lorſqu'il portoit ſes dieux,*' does not convey to us the force of *dum conderet urbem*, the adverb *lorſque* not implying duration of time. It is a ſtill greater objection to this line, that it ſpeaks of '*ces fameux Albains,*' as if they exiſted at the time that Æneas landed in Italy. In the next breath, however, they become '*nobles fils d'Ilion;*' and, by putting the two together, Æneas appears '*avoir porté ſes dieux chez ſes deſcendans,*' which is ſomewhat abſurd. The whole of the four laſt lines of the tranſlation, is ſpun out as well as confuſed, moſt unlike the grand and harmonious cloſe of Virgil;

——*genus unde Latinum,*
Albanique patres, atque altæ mœnia Romæ.

As it is endleſs to compare a tranſlation word by word with the original, it ſeems to be the beſt mode of aſcertaining its deſerts, to try it both in the paſſages which afford the fineſt diſplay of paſſion, ſentiment, and imagery, and in thoſe which, from the nature of the ſubject, give little ſcope for any of theſe. Such are mere narratives of a voyage, a feaſt, or a proceſſion; the neceſſary operations of agriculture, cookery, or ſhip-carpentry; games and tournaments; to which we may perhaps add, the promiſcuous ſlaughter of a field of battle. Theſe, or ſome at leaſt of theſe ſubjects, are either left wild or unadorned by moſt poets, or rendered burleſque by unappropriate ornament; but Virgil, by the moſt perfect union of correct taſte, with unequalled powers of language, has contrived to render all of them animated, various, and poetical. To render theſe paſſages adequately, tries the ſkill and art of a tranſlator; as to vie with his original in the ſublime and impaſſioned parts, puts to the teſt his imagination and reach of mind. We ſhall give ſpecimens of M. de Lille's ſucceſs in each of theſe.

The moſt ſublime paſſage in all the Æneid, and one, with which ſcarce any thing in claſſical antiquity can bear compariſon, is the manifeſtation of the divinities hoſtile to Troy, in the ſecond Æneid, cooperating with the Greeks in its deſtruction. It is Venus who addreſſes her ſon.

' Non, non, ce ne ſont point ces objets de ta haine,
Non, ce n'eſt point Paris, ni l'odieuſe Hélène;

C'eſt

C'eſt le courroux des Dieux qui renverſe nos murs.
Viens, je vais diſſiper les nuages obſcurs,
Dont ſur tes yeux mortels la vapeur répandue
Cache ce grand ſpectacle à ta débile vue.
Ecoute ſeulement, et, docile à ma voix,
D'une mère qui t'aime, exécute les lois.
Vois-tu ces longs débris, ces pierres diſperſées,
De ces brûlantes tours les maſſes renverſées,
Cette poudre, ces feux ondoyans dans les airs?
Là, le trident en main, le puiſſant dieu des mers
De la terre à grands coups entr'ouvrant les entrailles,
A leur baſe profonde arrache nos murailles,
Et dans ſes fondemens déracine Ilion.
Ici, tonne en fureur l'implacable Junon:
Debout, le fer en main, là vois-tu ſous ces portes
Appeler ſes ſoldats? Vois-tu de ces cohortes
L'Helleſpont à grands flots lui vomir les ſecours.
Sur un nuage ardent, au ſommet de ces tours,
Regarde: c'eſt Pallas, dont la main homicide
Agite dans les airs l'étincelante égide.
Jupiter même aux Grecs ſouffle un feu belliqueux,
Excite les mortels, et ſouléve les dieux.
Fuis; calme un vain courroux: fuis, c'en eſt fait. Ta mère
Va protéger tes pas, et te rendre à ton pére.'

One of the moſt beautiful emendations which conjectural criticiſm has ever made, is in the firſt lines here tranſlated. It ſtands, we believe, in all the manuſcripts,

'*Non tibi Tyndaridis facies inviſa Lacænæ,*
Culpatuſve Paris; verum inclementia Divom
Has evertit opes, ſternitque a culmine Trojam.'

This is fine; but what a difference, in the energy and enthuſiaſm of the paſſage, has been produced, by altering a ſingle word! We do not recollect by whom it was ſuggeſted; but all the later editions read in the ſecond line, '*Divom* inclementia, *Divom.*' It is marvellous to us that M. de Lille ſhould have neglected to tranſfuſe the ſpirit of this repetition of the word *Divom* into his tranſlation. The paſſage, however, which we have quoted, contains ſome brilliant lines, which evince the ſympathy of M. de Lille's mind with that of his author. We have been, upon the whole, much pleaſed with the tranſlation of the ſecond book.

The Fourth Æneid is, by common conſent, allowed to excel all other epic poetry, in the diſplay of paſſion and poetic enthuſiaſm. It is difficult to ſelect a paſſage in which theſe merits are prominent, becauſe they overſpread the whole ſurface, from the middle of the book at leaſt, to the concluſion. There is one, however, which muſt occur to every man of taſte, and it will afford a fair ſpecimen of the tranſlation.

At trepida, et captis immanibus effera Dido, &c.

Didon demeure ſeule. Alors de ſon injure
L'affreux reſſouvenir aigriſſant ſa bleſſure,
Dans l'accès violent de ſon dernier tranſport,
Tout entiere livrée à ſes projets de mort.
Roulant en traits de feu ſes prunelles ſanglantes,
Le viſage livide, et les lévres tremblantes;
Les traits defigurés, et le front ſans couleur,
Où deja de la mort s'imprime la pâleur,
Vers le fond du palais Didon deſeſperée
Precipite en fureur ſa demarche egarée,
Monte au bûcher, ſaiſit le glaive du héros,
Ce glaive, à qui ſon cœur demande le repôs,
Ce fer à la beauté donné par la courage,
Helas! et dont l'amour ne prévit point l'uſage.
Ce lit, ces vêtemens ſi connus à ſes yeux,
Suſpendent un moment ſes tranſports furieux.
Sur ces chers monumens, ce portrait et ces armes,
Penſive, elle s'arrête et répand quelques larmes;
Se place ſur le lit, et parmi des ſanglots
Laiſſe, d'un ton mourant, tomber ces derniers mots:
" Gages jadis ſi chers dans un temps plus propice,
" A votre cendre au moins que ma cendre s'uniſſe!
" Recevez donc mon ame, et calmez mes tourmens.
" J'ai vécu, j'ai rempli mes glorieux momens;
" Et mon ombre aux enfers deſcendra triomphante.
" J'ai fondé, j'ai vu naître une ville puiſſante.
" Sur un frère cruel j'ai vengé mon epoux.
" Heureuſe, heureuſe, helas! ſi, jeté loin de nous,
" L'infidéle jamais n'eût touché ce rivage!"
A ces mots, ſur ſa couche imprimant ſon viſage:
" Quoi! mourir ſans vengeance! Oui, mourons: pour mon cœur
" La mort, même à ce prix, la mort à ſa douceur.
" Que ces feux ſur les eaux éclairent le parjure.
" Frappons, Fuis, malheureux, ſous cet affreux augure!"

It is impoſſible not to feel that this is very good; but a faſtidious critic would frown at many of its deviations from the original. Nine lines become twenty, by the help of ſuch interpolations as '*Dans l'accès violent de ſon dernier tranſport,*' or '*Les traits defigurés, et le front ſans couleur;*' neither of which ſeem very material to the ſenſe. But we would forgive all, rather than the three lines which we have put in italics. The firſt is not eaſily reduced into ſenſe. A rhyme was to be found for *héros*; but it might, one would fancy, have been purchaſed at leſs expence. A termination in *o* is not very rare in the French language. As to the enſuing couplet, it may ſeem very pretty at Paris; but to

us grave critics of a northern latitude, who think that even *l'amour* may be misplaced, the addition is far from mending the expression of Virgil;—*non hos quæsitum munus in usus.* There is in this a simple pathos, which M. de Lille, with beauty, valour, and love in his hand, has not attained. The speech of Dido, however, is rendered with perfect faithfulness and elegance.

Virgil is the most picturesque of poets: none ever described nature with such delicacy of observation. Homer sometimes leaves his pictures imperfect, through haste; Spenser and Tasso fatigue with their details. But the taste of Virgil dictated to him the precise point, where the reader has received just enough, to make out the rest himself. The imagination has full play, and we are kept in that state of activity and moderate excitation, which, as it is the great pleasure of reading to experience, it must be the great secret of writing to produce. A very beautiful description occurs in the first Æneid.

' *Est in secessu longo locus; insula portum*
Efficit objectu laterum, quibus omnis ab alto
Frangitur, inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos.
Hinc atque hinc vastæ rupes, geminique minantur
In cœlum scopuli, quorum sub vertice late
Æquora tuta silent; tum silvis scena coruscis
Desuper, horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbrâ.
Fronte sub adversâ scopulis pendentibus antrum;
Intus aquæ dulces, vivoque sedilia saxo,
Nympharum domus; hîc fessas non vincula navis
Ulla tenent, unco non alligat anchora morsu. '

' Dans un golfe enfoncé, sur de sauvages bords,
S'ouvre un port naturel, defendu par une île,
Dont les bras étendus, brisant l'onde indocile,
Au fond de ce bassin, par deux accès divers,
Ouvrent un long passage aux flots bruyans des mers.
Des deux côtés du port un vaste roc s'avance,
Qui menace les cieux du son sommet immense;
Balancés par les vents, de bois aigrent son front;
A ses pieds le flot dort dans une calme profond;
Et des arbres touffus l'amphithéâtre sombre
Prolonge sur les flots la noirceur de son ombre.
En face, un antre frais, sous des rochers pendans,
Fait jaillir une eau douce en ruisseaux abondans;
Autour regnent des bancs taillés par la nature.
La naïade se plaît sous cette grotte obscure,
Qui présente à la fois un antre aux matelots,
Une eau pure à la soif, un asile au repos;
Et, sans qu'un fer mordant par son poids les arrête,
Les vaisseaux protégés y bravent la tempête. '

M.

M. de Lille is very ſucceſsful, as thoſe who have read his original poems well know, in what may be called *landſcape poetry*. Almoſt the whole of the lines now quoted ſeem to us good; but the couplet, ' *Et des arbres touffus,*' &c. is exquiſite, and even ſuperior to the original. *Nympharum domus* is more picturesque and animated than M. de Lille's ſolitary naiad. Beſides, it is not thought by naturaliſts, that naiads are ever found ſo near to ſalt water. The two lines which follow the naiad are ſuperfluous, and not an improvement.

We will now ſet before the reader a few paſſages of a different ſtrain, in which Virgil has wreſtled with the difficulties of ennobling the meaner, or more unintereſting parts of his poem. It ſeems hardly poſſible to give dignity to that part of the ſeventh Æneid, wherein Iulus remarks, that *they are eating their tables*. Indeed it is matter of regret that Virgil ſhould, from too ſuperſtitious a deference to the traditions of his country, have mingled ſo fooliſh a legend with a work which was deſtined to outlive Rome itſelf. The original lines are in Æneid, lib. vii. v. 107. M. de Lille has thus tranſlated them.

' Dans le lieu le plus frais d'une riche campagne
Le héros et ſes chefs, et le charmant Aſcagne,
Sur la verdure aſſis, de verdure couverts,
Reparent par des mets les fatigues des mers.
Ces mets ne chargent point une table ſuperbe :
Des gâteaux de froment qu'ils étendent ſur l'herbe
(Ainſi s'accompliſſoient les arrêts du deſtin)
Font entr'eux ſans apprêts un champêtre feſtin ;
Des tributs des vergers leur coupe ſe couronne,
Et Cérès ſert de table aux préſens de Pomone.
Tous leurs mots épuiſés, de ce fatal froment
Leur dent audacieuſe attaque l'aliment,
Et leur faim s'accordant avec l'ordre celeſte
Des debris de Cérès a dévoré le reſte.
Aſcagne à cet aſpect, dans un tranſport ſoudain :
" Eh quoi ! la table auſſi devient notre feſtin ! "
S'écria-t-il. Ces mots, *qu'on eût jugé frivoles*,
Le héros les ſaiſit ; et ces douces paroles
Sont par lui le ſignal de la fin de leurs maux. '

Qu'on eût jugé frivoles, is exceedingly weak; but the reſt is executed with no want of ſkill. We truſt that the appearance of a pun in the fourth line was unintentional.

The following return of killed and wounded, ſo frequent in the two great poets, is not an eaſy part of the interpreter's taſk.

' *Principio Phalarim, et ſucciſo poplite Gygem*
Excipit ; hinc raptas fugientibus ingerit haſtas
In tergum : Juno vires animumque miniſtrat.

Addit

Addit Halyn comitem, et ſucciſâ Phegia parmâ ;
Ignaros deinde in muris, Martemque cientes,
Alcandrumque, Haliumque, Noëmonaque, Prytanimque ;
Lyncea tendentem contrà, ſocioſque vocantem,
Vibranti gladio connixus ab aggere dexter
Occupat ; huic uno dejectum comminus ictu
Cum galeâ longè jacuit caput ; inde ferarum
Vaſtatorem Amycum, quo non felicior alter
Ungere tela manu, ferrumque armare veneno.'

' Phalaris mord la poudre, et Gygis chancelant
A peine à ſe trainer ſur ſon genou ſanglant :
Il déſarme, il pourſuit la foule qui l'évite,
Et de leurs propres traits les atteint dans leur fuite ;
Junon ſert ſa fureur. Halys n'echappe pas ;
Phégeé et ſon pavois ſont percés par ſon bras.
D'autres Troyens, rangés le long de leurs murailles,
Occupés des aſſauts, ignoroient ces battailles.
Alcandre, Noémon, Halius, Prytanis,
A leur compagnons morts ſont bientôt réunis :
Intrepide au milieu de l'immenſe carnage,
Lyncée oſe à Turnus oppoſer ſon courage ;
Et de ſes compagnons appele le ſecours,
Du ſommet des remparts et du pied de leurs tours :
Le glaive étincelant, plus prompt que la tempête,
Bien loin avec ſon caſque a fait voler ſa tête.
Plus loin tombe Amycus, la terreur des forets,
Savant dans l'art cruel d'empoiſonner ſes traits.'

This is every where paraphraſtic, and, in the death of Linceus, makes no attempt at giving the ſenſe of the original. We have already declared ourſelves hoſtile to the extreme of literalneſs in tranſlation ; but the variety which Homer and Virgil have ſcattered over their narratives of wounds and death, is one of their ſtriking excellences, and forms an excuſe for thoſe details, which, to our modern taſte, are often long and diſguſting. The character of Amycus is equivocally repreſented by *la terreur des forêts.* Virgil calls him, a deſtroyer of wild beaſts : to judge by M. de Lille, we might ſuſpect him for another Cacus.

The grand fault of this tranſlation is redundancy : the ſlighteſt hints of the original are ' drawn to French wire,' and ſpread over the ſurface of half a page. This is always wrong in a tranſlation, becauſe it is unneceſſary ; it is particularly wrong, where it gives a falſe character to the whole. French poetry, at the beſt, is apt to run into declamation : one great genius of falſe taſte is enough to corrupt a whole people ; and the example of Corneille, the firſt, if not the greateſt of their eminent poets, has probably led to this extravagance.

The

The traitor to his country, and the inceſtuous, are reckoned by the Sybil to Æneas, among thoſe who ſuffer puniſhment in Tartarus.

' *Vendidit hic auro patriam, dominumque potentem*
Impoſuit; fixit leges pretio, atque refixit:
Hic thalamum invaſit natæ, vetitoſque hymenæos.' Æn. vi. 621.

From theſe three verſes proceed twelve.

' Ils ont leur place ici ces lâches mercenaires
Qui vendent leur patrie à des loix étrangeres.
La peine ſuit de près ce père inceſtueux,
Qui jeta ſur ſa fille un œil voluptueux,
Et, juſque dans ſon lit portant ſa flamme impure,
D'un horrible hyménée outragea la nature.
Ils ſont jugés ici tous ces juges ſans foi
Qui de l'intérêt ſeul reconnoiſſoient la loi,
Qui, mettant la juſtice à l'infames encheres,
Dictoient et rétraitoient leurs arrêts mercenaires;
Et de qui la balance inclinée à leur choix
Corrompit la juſtice et fit mentir les lois.'

Not a word about judges in the original! The ſecond line relates not to thoſe who perverſely adminiſter laws, but to ſuch as, like Curio and Antony, who *perhaps* were glanced at, proſtitute the influence which the right of propoſing laws to the people gave the magiſtrates of ancient republics, to the purpoſes of corruption or tyranny. M. de Lille is too good a ſcholar to have miſconſtrued this: his miſtranſlation muſt have proceeded from extreme haſte, or a love of declamation. We have indeed met with no paſſage quite ſo exceptionable as this. The following, though ſhort, is a heinous ſin againſt taſte. Æneas arrives at Carthage; he ſees the walls juſt built, and the new colony flouriſhing in ſecurity and peace. A natural exclamation breaks from him.

' *O fortunati, quorum jam mœnia ſurgunt!*
Æneas ait, et faſtigia ſuſpicit urbis. Virg.
' Peuple heureux! vous voyez élever votre ville;
Et nous, dit le héros, nous cherchons un aſile.' *De Lille.*

The ſecond line terribly enfeebles the ſenſe, by the common fault of expreſſing what was implied before.

We will not undertake to give a decided character of this work. It contains many beauties, with many defects. In what proportion theſe are mingled, we cannot aſcertain, without a more accurate compariſon with the original, than we have leiſure to make; and without a more thorough knowledge of what can be done in French, than we can be expected to poſſeſs: for it ſeems hardly juſt to blame a tranſlation, unleſs we ſee clearly how a better might be made. The preface and notes are of great merit. They do not perhaps go deeply into metaphyſical criti-

ciſm,

ciſm, nor analyze the principles of poetical approbation; but they preſent, what moſt readers will like much better, the remarks of a man, who has grown old in the ſervice of the Muſes—intimately acquainted with the beſt models, and ſtrongly ſuſceptible of poetical feeling—without ſuffering that feeling to degenerate into blind admiration, nor forgetting that the foundation of taſte is propriety and good ſenſe.

The work of M. Quenneville ought perhaps to meet with mercy at our hands. The author is a reviewer like ourſelves. But, alas! there is no friendſhip, ſaith the proverb, among thoſe who exerciſe the ſame trade. *Pediculi pediculis infeſtantur:* reviewers muſt be the prey of reviewers. This M. Quenneville (who, being member of many literary ſocieties, and profeſſor of the Greek tongue, as is ſet forth in his title-page, muſt doubtleſs be a very learned perſon) is not pleaſed with M. de Lille's tranſlation of the Æneid. The method he takes of telling the world ſo, is the following.

Virgil writes a letter (paying the poſtage as far as Styx) to M. de Lille. In this he informs him, that all the great poets, ancient and modern, live together very happily below, and are as much pleaſed with each other's productions, as they were with their own of yore. Having ceaſed, however, to write verſes, (probably from want of a bookſeller to purchaſe them), and feeling ſome *ennui* even in Elyſium, they reſolve to eſtabliſh a critical ſociety, 'ſous le nom de *Comité de Reviſion des Enfers.*' The proceedings of this committee are, ſays Virgil, conducted with great order. 'Dans nos ſéances, point de bruit, point de trouble; chacun parle quand il veut, et dit ce qu'il veut.' We ſhould have thought that M. de Lille might have had experience of ſome committees on this ſide Acheron, in which every man ſpoke when and what he pleaſed, where the conſequence was not *point de bruit, point de trouble*, but the direct reverſe. Homer is preſident, and Corneille vice-preſident of this dark divan. For ſecretaries, Virgil himſelf, and Arioſto. The other members are, as might be expected, Æſchylus, Rouſſeau, Euripides, Milton, Lucan, Boileau, &c. &c. &c. Voltaire, we rather fear, was black-balled: 'nous ne lui avons pas fait un accueil brillant à ſon arrivée.' For this he aſſigns divers reaſons, ſome favourable, and ſome unfavourable to the ſaid Voltaire. Before this committee, M. de Lille's tranſlation paſſes in review; and the object of Virgil's letter is to communicate the criticiſms which it underwent, in hopes that deference to ſuch venerable ſpectres would ſoften a heart which might be obdurate to human cenſure. The plan of the ſubterraneous fraternity was to meet in a ſunny part of their fields, where one read the original and

tranſlation aloud, and the reſt made their remarks. The etiquette was ſettled as follows by two very polite gentlemen, M. Ariſtophanés, and M. Ovide.

' *Ariſtophanés.* Je demande qu'il ſoit permis à chaque membre de prendre la parole quand il le jugera à propos, ſur les endroits qui ſeront cités, ſoit pour defendre, ſoit pour blâmer le traducteur.

' *Ovide.* M. de Lille ne ſera pas malheureux s'il obtient des éloges de l'auteur des Grenouilles, et s'il eſt defendu par le cenſeur d'Eſchyle et d'Euripide.'

How much may be learned in the other world! Ovid acquired the rudiments of politeneſs in the court of Auguſtus; but ſuch perfect good-breeding as this ſhews clearly that he belongs at preſent to *les Champs Elyſées.*

It is obvious, that this idea, which is neither very new nor very ſprightly, could only be well executed by putting in the mouth of each of the ſpeakers ſuch criticiſms as might be expected from his known character, or that of his writings. Thus, Corneille ſhould detect want of vigour, and Racine of delicacy; Terence note all tranſgreſſions of ſimplicity, and Boileau keep watch and ward over the purity of the French idiom. This would give a ſort of dramatic intereſt to the whole, and might diſplay the poetical knowledge of the writer. How far M. Quenneville has deemed this neceſſary, may be ſeen in the following extract, which is only a fair ſample of the whole. Boileau is the reader for the time being; and thus he reads—

' *Tum, pietate gravem et meritis ſi forte virum quem*
Conſpexere, ſilent, arrectiſque auribus adſtant.'

' Mais d'un ſage vieillard ſi la vue impoſante
Dans l'ardeur du tumulte, à leurs yeux ſe preſente.'

' *Plaute.*

' Il n'eſt pas queſtion *d'un ſage vieillard,* mais d'un homme qui jouit d'un grand credit par ſes ſervices et par ſes vertus. De plus, *la vue* ne *ſe preſente* pas *aux yeux.* Ce n'eſt pas ainſi qu'a écrit notre collègue Virgile.

' *Ariſtophanés.*

' S'il y avoit "*mine impoſante,*" on ne diroit rien. Eh bien! le mot *vue* eſt ici la même choſe. Il eſt vrai que nous n'avons pas encore vu, dans ce ſens là, le mot *mine,* qui n'eſt pas très noble.

' *Boileau.*

' ——*Ac magno telluris amore*
Egreſſi, optatâ potiuntur Troes arenâ.'

' Là, volent ſur le bord imploré ſi long-tems,
Les Troyens, du naufrage encore dégouttans.'

' *Le Taſſe.*

' *Le bord imploré* me paroît une expreſſion forcée. J'ai bien vu *implorer la mort,* parceque la mort peut effectivement venir à notre ſecours.

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Les Troyens dégouttans du naufrage eſt une locution encore plus extraordinaire, et dont le merite ne vous eſt pas connu.

' *Silius Italicus.*

' J'obſerverai à notre collègue, que la première partie de ſa critique n'eſt peut-etre pas très juſte. Quand on s'éloigne de la terre, le rivage ſemble s'eloigner ; quand on s'en approche, il ſemble approcher. On peut donc dire *implorer le rivage*, comme on dit *implorer la mort.*'

This ſort of dialogue, continued through a volume, is preciſely what the Greeks called τὸ ψυχρὸν, and the French themſelves, *platitudes et fadaiſes.* In another place, Silius Italicus is made to ſay, ' Voilà des vers qui ſont très foibles et bien proſaiques.' This may be true ; but we muſt remind that gentleman, that he has bequeathed us a legacy of many thouſand lines, to almoſt every one of which that character eminently applies ; ſo that the reproach could not come with worſe grace from any lips than his. Nevertheleſs, M. Quenneville has made one effort to preſerve *coſtume.* Anacreon, as we all know, was a *bon-vivant*, and thought that good wine was not to be deſpiſed. The ſame propenſity remains with his ghoſt, as appears from the following obſervation, expreſſed with that peculiar grace which marked the bard of Teos:

' *Anacreon.*

' Ce vers, *déjà leurs mains cedoient à la douce liqueur*, eſt un contre-ſens bien cruel. Car il ſuppoſe qu'ils boivent ; mais ils ne boivent pas encore, les malheureux. Virgile ne dit pas qu'ils boivent ; ils ont encore une harangue à eſſayer avant que de boire. Ils ne boiront que vingt cinq vers plus bas.'

After all, though M. Quenneville has followed a bad ſyſtem, he delivers many ſenſible remarks, and evinces himſelf a man of taſte and literature. Some few of his criticiſms we have borrowed for ourſelves in the courſe of this article : they extend only to the *firſt ſix* books of the Æneid. After which, Homer riſes and compliments the committee upon their impartiality, though he thinks there appeared ſometimes ' un peu d'aigreur dans leurs critiques :' They ought to have conſidered the former triumphs in poetry of M. de Lille, his age and misfortunes, the virtues of his character, and his conſtancy to his principles during a terrible revolution : Theſe qualities, in the opinion of Homer, are more valuable than writing good verſes. We applaud the liberality of the ſentiment ; but we are afraid the cenſors of the *Champs Elyſées* are not perfectly well informed as to the facts.

ART. IX. *A Short Account of the Cauſe of the Diſeaſe in Corn, called by Farmers the Blight, the Mildew, and the Ruſt.* By Sir Joſeph Banks, Bart. London: Harding: 1805.

WE are induced to call the attention of our readers to this little tract, from the importance of the ſubject, and the value of the hints which it throws out, as well as the reſpect due to every thing that bears a name ſo deſervedly celebrated, both among the lovers of ſcience, and the patrons of the moſt uſeful arts. We believe we participate in a very univerſal feeling, when we expreſs our regret that ſo few occaſions ſhould offer of noticing ſimilar communications from the ſame quarter.

The ravages which the blight made in laſt year's crop directed Sir Joſeph Banks's attention to the nature of that diſeaſe. The general ignorance of agriculturiſts upon the ſubject, ſeemed to ſuggeſt the propriety of a popular eſſay, which might indicate what naturaliſts have aſcertained reſpecting it; and his own extenſive experience in both capacities enabled him better than any body elſe to perform this uſeful taſk. He has enriched his treatiſe with a number of original remarks and important ſuggeſtions for further experiments, which his long and intimate acquaintance with the ſubject pointed out to him. It is neatly and unaffectedly compoſed; and the opinions which it delivers are marked by a union, as rare as it is natural, of modeſty and ſound ſenſe.

All perfect plants, our author obſerves, are provided by nature with mouths or pores on the ſurface of their leaves and ſtalks. Theſe are deſtined to ſupply the vegetable's want of locomotion, by enabling it to profit by all the aqueous particles which may fall upon it, or be contained in the air which ſurrounds it. They are opening in wet, and ſhut in dry weather; and greedily abſorb the moiſture that comes in contact with them. The ſurface of ſtraw is covered with alternate ſtripes; the one ſet more ſolid—the other filled with the mouths juſt now deſcribed. Into theſe the farina of a ſmall paraſitic fungus frequently penetrates; there it ſprouts; and though its roots have not yet been detected beyond the bark, there can be no doubt that they puſh themſelves into the cellular texture, and, intercepting the ſap in its aſcent, nouriſh the little muſhroom at the expence of the grain. It is the kernel of the primary plant which ſuffers by this intruſion; in proportion to the number of fungi which take root in the ſtalk, the grain in the ear is ſhrivelled; and while the bran remains as plentiful as before, the flour is ſo much diminiſhed, that our author aſſerts ſome of the laſt year's crop did not yield a ſtone from a ſack of wheat; or it may happen that the whole produce, if ground, ſhould give bran alone. This fungus attacks corn early

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in ſpring; aſſumes an orange colour, which afterwards becomes deep brown; and, in hot weather, ripens and ſheds its ſeed perhaps in the ſpace of a week. Spring corn ſuffers leſs from it than winter, probably becauſe the fungus has leſs time to ſpread over and exhauſt it. It does not ſeem peculiar to this country. All over Europe, where corn is grown, the blight is known; and ſpecimens of a paraſitic plant, nearly reſembling the Engliſh, have lately been received in wheat from New South Wales. Nor does this fungus appear to attack corn plants only. The neighbourhood of a barberry buſh will infect a whole diſtrict of grain with the diſeaſe; from whence our author very reaſonably infers, that this tree, known to be very ſubject to a ruſt reſembling the blight, ſheds the farina of its fungus, which the wind carries to the pores of the corn.

Early in the ſeaſon, the ruſt, in its orange-coloured ſtage, may be obſerved upon a few ſtalks here and there in a field. At this period it takes many weeks of coming to maturity; and that interval our author adviſes the farmer to employ in eradicating thoſe infected plants, which, if permitted to ripen, are ſo many neſts of numberleſs fungi. Each pore may contain from twenty to forty, and each fungus ſheds a hundred ſeed; ſo that, in the hot ſeaſon, when they ripen quickly, a ſingle ſtalk may infect a whole pariſh. He ſuſpects it may likewiſe find its way in the ſtraw, mixed up with manure; and ſeveral graſſes are obviouſly ſubject to it. The former cauſe is eaſily removed; and careful weeding is a certain preventive of the latter.

Our author concludes his tract by two ſuggeſtions of very great practical importance. The firſt is a query, whether the copious growth of theſe fungi upon the leaves and ſtalks of corn does not add to the nutritive matter of the ſtraw? The weight of the ſtraw is certainly increaſed in proportion as the grain loſes by the growth of the paraſitical plant; but the queſtion is ſubmitted to farmers, whether the fungus has the qualities which adapt it to the ſtomachs of cattle?—A queſtion which may eaſily be anſwered by the experience of laſt year's feeding from the ſtraw crop.

The other ſuggeſtion is of ſtill greater moment, and we ſhall give it in Sir Joſeph's own words:

'It cannot be improper in this place to remark, that although the ſeeds of wheat are rendered, by the exhauſting power of the fungus, ſo lean and ſhrivelled that ſcarce any flour fit for the manufacture of bread can be obtained by grinding them, theſe very ſeeds will, except, perhaps, in the very worſt caſes *, anſwer the purpoſe of ſeed corn, as well

* 80 grains of the moſt blighted wheat of the laſt year, that could be obtained, were ſown in pots in the hothouſe; of theſe, ſeventy-two produced healthy plants, a loſs of 10 per cent. only.

well as the faireſt and plumpeſt ſample that can be obtained, and in ſome reſpects better; for, as a buſhel of much blighted corn will contain one third at leaſt more grains in number than a buſhel of plump corn, three buſhels of ſuch corn will go as far in ſowing land, as four buſhels of large grain.

'The uſe of the flour of corn in furthering the proceſs of vegetation, is to nouriſh the minute plant from the time of its developement till its roots are able to attract food from the manured earth; for this purpoſe, one tenth of the contents of a grain of good wheat is more than ſufficient. The quantity of flour in wheat has been increaſed by culture and management calculated to improve its qualities for the benefit of mankind, in the ſame proportion as the pulp of apples and pears has been increaſed, by the ſame means, above what is found on the wildings and crabs in the hedges.

'It is cuſtomary to ſet aſide or to purchaſe for ſeed corn, the boldeſt and plumpeſt ſamples that can be obtained; that is, thoſe that contain the moſt flour. But this is an unneceſſary waſte of human ſubſiſtence; the ſmalleſt grains, ſuch as are ſifted out before the wheat is carried to market, and either conſumed in the farmer's family, or given to his poultry, will be found, by experience, to anſwer the purpoſe of propagating the ſort from whence they ſprung, as effectually as the largeſt.

'Every ear of wheat is compoſed of a number of cups placed alternately on each ſide of the ſtraw; the lower ones contain, according to circumſtances, three or four grains, nearly equal in ſize, but, towards the top of the ear, where the quantity of nutriment is diminiſhed by the more ample ſupply of thoſe cups that are nearer the root, the third or fourth grain in a cup is frequently defrauded of its proportion, and becomes ſhrivelled and ſmall. Theſe ſmall grains, which are rejected by the miller, becauſe they do not contain flour enough for his purpoſe, have nevertheleſs an ample abundance for all purpoſes of vegetation, and as fully partake of the ſap (or blood, as we ſhould call it in animals) of the kind which produced them, as the faireſt and fulleſt grain that can be obtained from the bottoms of the lower cups, by the waſteful proceſs of beating the ſheaves.' p. 25–26–27–28.

A good deal of illiberal attack has been excited by theſe moſt important ſuggeſtions, mingled with ſome unneceſſary violence, and very much miſplaced ſarcaſm. Certain practical men have treated the idea of feeding cattle with the ruſt of the ſtraw as ſomething equally abſurd in itſelf, with a propoſal to grow fat by eating ſcabby mutton. But it ſhould be recollected, that the caſes are not at all parallel. The ſcab of mutton is an unwholeſome concretion, not a new animal;—the ruſt of corn is a new and thriving plant. Beſides, there are certain morbid excreſcences in animals which we eat without ſcruple, and, doubtleſs, receive nouriſhment from. What is the fat of prize cattle but a diſeaſe? Do we not feaſt upon enlarged livers of geeſe and turkeys? or, to take a caſe ſtill more in point, Is not our attention

tion carefully directed, in many cases, to the propagation of one plant upon the stem and from the sap of another? There is evidently nothing in the supposition of Sir Joseph Banks, which entitles it to be viewed as self-contradictory; and it must be remembered, that he expressly states it as a subject of inquiry. As for the suggestion relative to seed corn, it is equally given as a hint deserving further examination. At the same time, the author mentions the grounds of his own opinion, in so far as he has adopted one. He has received very respectable testimonies from practical men in the course of the discussion which his tract has excited;—and, surely, to raise an outcry about the possible danger that may result from farmers being tempted to sow insufficient grain by his representations, is, in the extreme, inconsiderate, as well as unfair. Can any doubt be entertained that the hint now given will be brought *gradually* to the test of experiment; and that a considerable portion of the crop will be risked upon the authority of our author's views, only when experience shall have proved that they are correct? We trust that this decisive testimony will soon be adduced, to the final determination of the question.

The plate which accompanies this valuable tract, is neatly engraved, after a design by Bauer, botanical painter to the King;—and exhibits an instructive view of the Blight in its various states; that is, the fungus in the different stages of its growth.

ART. X. *Memoirs of C. M. Talleyrand de Perigord, &c. &c. Containing the Particulars of his Private and Public Life; of his Intrigues in Boudoirs, as well as in Cabinets.* By the Author of the Revolutionary Plutarch. In two vol. London: 1805

WE have no reason for giving a place in our Journal to such a work as the present, if it were not that the name of Talleyrand might lead our readers to expect entertainment from professed memoirs of a person so much heard of in the present agitations of the world. We think it proper, therefore, to warn them against certain disappointment and disgust; and we should be wanting to our duty, if we forbore to add, that such publications are a disgrace to those who offer them for sale, as well as to the purchasers by whom they are encouraged. The present is a very stupid and base libel, remarkable only for the author's wonderful ignorance of a life, the principal circumstances of which have been long notorious in this country, and seasoned for the depraved taste of vulgar readers by very scandalous indecencies. There is pollution, indeed, upon the very title-page, by the lure which is offered to corrupt curiosity.

We are very far from having contaminated our memory by reading much of these volumes. But from the errors that crowd every page upon which we looked, we will try to recollect a few, merely that our readers may be satisfied that this is not a work on which they are to rely for any information whatever.

The very beginning is a blunder. He is called 'the *younger* son of a younger branch of the house of Perigord.' We thought every body knew that he is the *eldest* son. He is said to have been born club-footed; but there is no mention of the well-known fact, that, on account of this deformity, he was deprived of his birthright. The compiler appears equally ignorant, that, for the same satisfactory reason, Talleyrand was never suffered to enjoy, even in infancy, the comforts of living in his father's family, under whose roof he never slept; and that he was forced into the ecclesiastical profession, in opposition to all his own wishes. These anecdotes are the more fit to be noticed, because such irreparable injustice in early life cannot fail to give a bias to a strong character.

That the compiler may lose no time in indulging such as shall be his readers, with what he appears to have chiefly intended for their gratification, we are told of this *estropié* being immersed in all the outrage and excesses of pleasure, at the age of fourteen. We are told the names of the very brothels, and the women who kept them. At the same early age he makes him philosophize also, and even prophecy; for we are told, that after beating the watch and quarrelling with a mousquetaire, he swore, still at the age of fourteen,—

'That it should not be for want of his active endeavours and philosophical zeal, if, *twenty-five years* afterwards, Christian teachers and Christian pupils were still found in France, or if Christian churches were not changed into theatres, and Christian colleges into brothels.' p. 6.

These twenty-five years make out precisely the year 1793. We confidently hope there is not a book-club in the whole of this credulous country, where such stuff will be read farther than this page.

It might have been well for some parts of Europe, had Talleyrand been really so idle and profligate at college; instead of forming, in sullen and laborious reserve, those talents which, it would seem, are not only become our terror, but make us inquisitive about his vices. He studied at the Sorbonne, at the same time with Sieyés; and he was then remarked only as a silent and haughty young man, who passed all his time among his books.

We shall permit one specimen of this compiler's abominations to be entered on our page, because its ludicrous defiance of all truth and sense saves it from any immoral effect. We are desired

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to believe, that the following boaſt of his exploits, from the age of ſeventeen to twenty-one, was made by the young Abbé himſelf.

'During five years *(he ſaid)*, that ſix huſbands, from jealouſy on his account, had blown out their brains, and eighteen lovers had periſhed in duels for ladies who were his miſtreſſes. Ten wives, deſerted by him, had retired in deſpair to convents. Twelve unmarried ladies, from doubt of his fidelity or conſtancy, had either broken their hearts, or poiſoned themſelves in deſperation. All theſe were perſons of *haut ton*; and in their number he did not therefore include the hundreds of the *Bourgeoiſie* at the *Griſets* *, or of chambermaids, who, forſaken by him, ſought conſolation from an halter, or in the river Seine. He had, beſides, during the ſame ſhort period, made twenty-four huſbands happy fathers, and forty maids ſolitary and miſerable mothers!' p. 19.

Whoever would have more of this, may go to the book itſelf; and delight themſelves with ſtaring at this moſt wonderful and peſtilential dragon, and with learning alſo, very profoundly, the manners and cuſtoms of the French nation. They may think it a new view alſo of the pious character of Louis XVI., that he conferred on this public devouring monſter the biſhopric of Autun. Surely the compiler, if he is honeſt in his profeſſions, muſt have utterly loſt his underſtanding, when he believed that he was ſerving the cauſe of the old government, by this flagitious ſatire of a court, where the greateſt enormities led to the higheſt honours. But it is fooliſh to be ſerious on ſuch an occaſion.

The ignorant libelliſt makes him Biſhop of Autun ſeveral years before his advancement to that dignity. He was not promoted till the end of the year 1788 or 1789; and during the time that he is placed in exile at Thouloufe or Autun, for crimes that would have deſerved the ſcaffold, the Abbé de Perigord was actually diſcharging with great reputation one of the moſt eminent functions in the church, that of *Agent du Clergé de France*. The Revolutionary Plutarch knows nothing of this fact, which is enough to anſwer a whole volume of calumnies. It was in this diſtinguiſhed ſituation that he addreſſed to the clergy his famous *diſcours ſur les loteries*, which firſt announced his talents to the world, and opened to him, under the patronage of Louis XVI., the firſt dignities of the church.

We have the ſame ignorance and abſurdities, in what is ſaid of the tranſactions of the National Aſſembly. In order to give Talleyrand a participation in every crime, he is made a confidential aſſociate in all the different parties. He is repreſented as the friend

* We do not ſtop to inquire, which of the two languages it is that the compiler does not underſtand.

friend of the King and Mirabeau, of Necker and Sieyés, of Barnave and Marat, of Danton, Petion and Robeſpierre, and always contriving and conducting all the oppoſite intrigues. This, to be ſure, is mere raving. The only thing omitted is, the whole real labours of the Biſhop of Autun in the National Aſſembly, and its committees. We hear not a word of his report on the uniformity of weights and meaſures, his work on public education, &c. Nor is any notice taken of the time when he was member of the Department of Paris, and undertook the defence of the perſecuted clergy; or of the addreſs which he compoſed for the Department upon that unpopular topic, which was ſo much admired for its eloquence and force of reaſoning.

The account of Talleyrand's reſidence in England ſhews ſtill the ſame miſrepreſentation and total ignorance of facts. For inſtance, he is deſcribed as bringing from France fifty thouſand pounds Sterling at leaſt; whereas we recollect very well, that he was actually forced to ſupply himſelf by ſelling his library. But there would be no end of expoſing in detail this compiler's violations of veracity and probability.

He has adopted, to be ſure, a moſt effectual method for the compoſition of true memoirs. He has brought together every calumny he could find, in all the obſcene and ſanguinary libels that were printed during the worſt licenſe of the Revolution. Engliſh readers can form no conception of the atrocity of ſuch publications, by any thing that they ſee in their own language, except when ſhameleſs venality makes a trial, like the preſent, how much our public taſte is groſs enough to bear. This compiler ſomewhere pretends to have had acceſs to original information; and yet, upon every occaſion, we find him reſorting to extracts from ſuch works as theſe, the titles of which, one ſhould think, are quite enough to give the lie to their contents: La Nouvelle Chronique Scandaleuſe; Le Diable Boiteux Revolutionaire; La Vie Laique et Eccleſiaſtique du Monſeigneur l'Evêque d'Autun; Les Miracles Carnales de St Charles Evêque d'Autun, printed in 1792 at the Palais-Royal; La Politique d'un indigne Perigord; Les Candidats de la Potence; La Correſpondance d'infames Emigrés, and other ſuch notable materials for genuine hiſtory. From the laſt, in particular, he favours us with long letters of Talleyrand himſelf, and of Madame de Flahault, full of political and amorous confidences; in which a Biſhop and Stateſman, famed over Europe for his wit and his diſcretion, and a lady, diſtinguiſhed in the modern literature of France, are repreſented as correſponding with each other in a ſtyle of the utmoſt vulgarity and imbecility.

But we have ſaid more of this book than was neceſſary. It is not

not likely to find readers ignorant and credulous enough to be ſo impoſed on. If the political memoirs of the preſent Foreign Miniſter of France are ever diſcloſed, we ſhall receive amuſement, not much real inſtruction, in tracing the viciſſitudes of a life, ſo intriguing and eventful. They muſt come to us, however, from his own hand, or from thoſe who have ſtood very near him. His is far from being a character, about which we feel much curioſity; he has diſappointed the hopes that he once inſpired, of playing a great part; and, with talents to have done his country eminent ſervice, he is content to be a ſharer in its oppreſſion and plunder, without even meriting the fame of hazardous ambition. But whatever his conduct may have been, it is to us a ſubject of calm condemnation, not of perſonal reſentment, or impotent revenge. And all Engliſh readers owe it to the purity of their own manners, and to the rectitude of their underſtanding, to reject ſuch libels as the preſent; which are fabricated for the profits of a moral proſtitution, by offering an indulgence to the baſeſt paſſions.

ART. XI. *Travels to the Weſtward of the Allegany Mountains, in the States of the Ohio, Kentucky, and Teneſſee.* By F. A. Michaux, M. D. Member of the Society of Natural Hiſtory of Paris, &c. London: 1805. pp. 350. 8vo.

THERE are, according to Volney,* three great natural diviſions of the territory of the United States of America: the firſt, lies between the Atlantic and the Apalachian or Allegany Mountains; the ſecond, is that diſtrict which is covered by theſe mountains; and the third, lies beyond them to the weſt, and now extends, by the ceſſion of Louiſiana, to the frontiers of Mexico. That portion of this vaſt territory, which lies between the Mountains and the Miſſiſippi, contains the newly erected States of the Ohio, Kentucky, and Teneſſee; and is commonly called the Weſtern or Back Country in America. Till lately, this region has been the ſubject only of vague and fabulous accounts, derived from ignorant or intereſted landjobbers; and, even now, it is but imperfectly known. This is eaſily accounted for, when we conſider its recent occupation, its great extent, and the uninviting aſpect which it preſents to travellers. Here are no champaign diſtricts, or elegant cities; nothing meets the eye but

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* View of the Climate and Soil of the United States.

but the dusky shades of interminable forests, where silence seems to have established her reign, and where the lonely traveller must hold his irksome way, amid perils and privations, without the hope of any brilliant discovery to reward his toils, and embellish the narrative of his adventures.

Notwithstanding all these obstacles and disadvantages, the author of the book before us was induced to undertake a journey through this remote country, principally to make observations upon the vegetable productions which are to be found there. But, although natural history was his chief object, he does not confine himself to his *hortus siccus*; his observations take a wider range, and enable us to form some opinion regarding the progress which these states have made in agriculture, commerce, and population. It must, however, be confessed, that he treats these subjects in an unconnected and desultory manner; and that the information which he communicates is, in many respects, scanty and inadequate. But, as his narrative was not originally intended for publication, and as he was limited to a very short space of time for the performance of his arduous journey, it would be unfair, perhaps, to blame him for deficiencies which, in his case, were in some measure unavoidable. We are, indeed, upon the whole, more inclined to praise than to censure M. Michaux. He is not one of those travellers who, to use Bacon's phrase, when they go abroad, 'go hooded,' and see nothing; for he seems to have made every inquiry that his time permitted: and, besides, it is seldom that we meet with a writer of his country so free from every kind of trifling, romancing, and affectation. His book has no pretensions to philosophy, but it is plain, sensible, and instructive. They, however, who read travels only for the sake of the marvels they contain, will find very little amusement in it; for the author is very deficient in wonderful stories, having neither seen mammoths, fought with cannibals, nor intrigued with Indian princesses.

The expedition, we are informed, was undertaken under the auspices of M. Chaptal, Minister of the Interior. Our traveller sailed from Bourdeaux, and arrived at Charlestown in South Carolina in October 1801. This city is the seat of an active commerce between the northern and the southern states; it contains nearly twenty thousand inhabitants; and it is curious to learn that, in this land of liberty, upwards of nine thousand of this number are slaves. Before setting out upon his western expedition, Dr Michaux made a considerable stay at this place, as well as at New York and Philadelphia. The population of the former is reckoned at fifty thousand; that of Philadelphia, the largest, handsomest, and most populous city of North America,

rica, is eſtimated at ſeventy thouſand. Upon the 27th of June 1802, our traveller ſet out from this city to croſs the Alleganies, having before him a journey of near two thouſand miles, to be accompliſhed by the following October. From Philadelphia to Pittſburgh, the northern entrance into the weſtern ſtates, the diſtance is three hundred miles, and the road lies through a country whoſe hilly ſurface, covered with dark foreſts, gives it the appearance of an agitated ſea. There are, however, intermediate ſpots of rich and cultivated ſoil, yielding crops of wheat, oats, and rye. Beyond Shippenſburgh, which is one hundred and forty miles from Philadelphia, there is no public conveyance upon this road; but, as the Americans are always thirſty, there is no want of inns, which are frequently kept by captains, colonels, and other military dignitaries, with the appropriate ſign of a General Waſhington. The breakfaſts at theſe inns are, we find, much in that ſtyle which Dr Johnſon, when in Scotland, ſo highly approved; fried ham and eggs, with a broiled fowl, being generally ſerved up with the tea and coffee. Upon our traveller's arrival at Bedford, a town near the foot of the Allegany ridge, he found all the inhabitants of the country engaged in a high feſtival, to commemorate, not a victory over the royaliſts, but the repeal of the duty upon whiſky; and, upon this memorable occaſion, every independent American thought it a civic duty to get exceedingly drunk. We find the German coloniſts are the moſt ſober and induſtrious people in this part of America.

'With them,' ſays our author, 'every thing announces that comfort which is the reward of aſſiduity and labour. They aſſiſt each other in their harveſts, they intermarry with each other, and preſerve as much as poſſible the manners of their European anceſtors. They live much better than the American deſcendants of the Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh. They are not ſo much addicted to ſpirituous liquors, and have not, like them, that unſteady diſpoſition which frequently, from the moſt trifling cauſe, induces them to emigrate ſeveral hundred miles in the hope of finding ſome more fertile territory.' p. 64.

Pittſburgh, the key of the weſtern country, is a thriving commercial town: it ſtands at the confluence of the Monongahela and Allegany rivers, which there unite to form the Ohio. This magnificent river falls into the Miſſiſippi eleven hundred miles below Pittſburgh, and nearly as many from New Orleans, where the Miſſiſippi diſcharges itſelf into the Gulf of Mexico. In the ſpring and autumn, this river is navigable by veſſels of 300 tons all the way from Pittſburgh; and from Limeſtone, four hundred and twenty-five miles farther down, it is navigable the whole year. In the ſpring, the current is extremely rapid; the boats, therefore, with which it is then navigated, are

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ſo conſtructed, as to diminiſh the velocity with which they would otherwiſe be carried down. They are of an oblong form, having their ſides raiſed about four feet and a half above the water, and covered at one end with an angular roof: and in theſe veſſels, whole families of emigrants commit themſelves to the ſtream, without ſail or oar.

'I was alone,' ſays M. Michaux, 'on the banks of the Monongahela, when, for the firſt time, I obſerved five or ſix of theſe boats floating down the river. I could not conceive what theſe large ſquare boxes were, which, abandoned to the current, preſented by turns their ends, ſides and corners. As they approached, I heard a confuſed noiſe; but the height of their ſides prevented me from diſtinguiſhing any thing. By getting upon the bank of the river, I at length diſcovered ſeveral families in theſe boats, which alſo conveyed their horſes, cows, poultry, carriages, ploughs, beds, tools, in fact every thing which is required for furniſhing a farm houſe, and cultivating the land.' p. 87.

On the 14th of July, Dr Michaux left Pittſburgh for Kentucky, reſolved to travel on foot to Wheeling, and there to embark upon the Ohio. Having at this place purchaſed a canoe, he proceeded down the river, *paddling* from one ſide to the other, in order to obtain the ſhelter of the trees againſt the burning rays of the ſun; and, during the night, he ſtopped at ſome of the plantations, or ſmall towns, which are ſcattered upon its banks. A few days uſe ſo habituated him to this mode of travelling, that he could contemplate, at his eaſe, the ſurrounding ſcenery through the openings which preſented themſelves; and wherever he halted, he made ſuch inquiries and obſervations as his ſtay permitted. On the fourth day of his voyage, he arrived at Marietta, ſituated at the mouth of the great Muſkingum. This town, one of the chief places of the extenſive ſtate of the Ohio, although of recent date, contains upwards of two hundred houſes; and being a buſy commercial ſtation, it is daily increaſing.

At Gallipoli, farther down the river, Dr Michaux had an opportunity of ſurveying a colony of his countrymen, who, ten years before, had been ſeduced from their homes, by romantic and captivating relations of this region, publiſhed by certain poetical French travellers. Our author accounts for the poor ſtate in which he found this miſguided colony, by enumerating the peculiar hardſhips to which the coloniſts were unexpectedly expoſed, from the war carrying on againſt the ſavages, upon their firſt arrival in this country. Volney, who viſited this eſtabliſhment before M. Michaux, gives a ſimilar account of theſe obſtacles: but that penetrating writer farther remarks,

marks, that he thought he perceived, when at Gallipoli, that Frenchmen are not ſo well adapted for the labours of colonization as the emigrants from Britain or Germany. With a view to aſcertain whether or not he was right in this ſuppoſition, he afterwards viſited the French eſtabliſhments upon the Wabaſh; and, from what he there ſaw, and the accounts he received regarding the other ſettlements of the French, upon the borders of Louiſiana, and lake Erie, he was fully confirmed in his firſt opinion. In order to account for the general decay of thoſe ſettlements, he enters into ſome amuſing details illuſtrative of national habits and character. But it is not our buſineſs at preſent to attend more particularly to his intereſting ſpeculations upon this ſubject.

Arrived at Limeſtone, in the ſtate of Kentucky, our traveller had ſtill near a thouſand miles of his arduous journey before him; and being preſſed for time, he was forced to abandon his original plan of deſcending the river ſo far as the *Rapids*. Taking leave of it, therefore, at this place, he directed his courſe towards Lexington, the chief town of this, and of all the weſtern ſtates. This ſtill humble capital contains only three thouſand inhabitants, who live in plank houſes; but it muſt be recollected, that, till the year 1780, the place where it now ſtands was covered with trees. Like all the towns in this part of America, it is ſtill embоſomed in woods; but there are many plantations in the neighbourhood, and the ſoil is extremely fertile. An attempt was made to naturalize the vine in the neighbourhood of Lexington; but M. Michaux found the vineyard, of which he had previouſly heard very flattering reports, in a declining ſtate. It ſeems probable, however, that the vine might be ſucceſsfully cultivated in that country; and that the failure of this attempt was owing to an injudicious choice of ſituation. At Lexington, we learn, there is ſome degree of literature: newſpapers are publiſhed, and the literary journals of Europe are regularly received. Dr S. Brown, an intelligent phyſician, had introduced the vaccine inoculation with great ſucceſs: and the ſame gentleman was laudably occupied in making a collection of the foſſils, and other natural productions of this intereſting country. It is pleaſing to learn, that the iſolated inhabitants of theſe foreſts are cheered and enlightened with the diſtant literature of Europe; that there are here men capable of communicating the benefits of its diſcoveries; and emulous, in their turn, to extend the boundaries of knowledge by new diſcoveries of their own.

After a ſhort ſtay at Lexington, Dr Michaux ſet out, on the 10th of Auguſt, for Naſhville in Teneſſee, where he arrived upon

on the 28th of that month. Naſhville, which contains about one hundred and thirty houſes built of planks, is ſituated upon the Cumberland, a river remarkable for the ſtupendous height of its calcareous banks. Here there is a plank *college*, containing one profeſſor and ſix ſtudents. Leaving this melancholy ſpot, our traveller proceeded to Knoxville, the ſeat of government of the ſtate of Teneſſee. On this part of his route, he traverſed part of the territory of the Cherokees, upon the Cumberland mountains; and he tells us, that theſe ſavages have lately made conſiderable progreſs in cultivating their lands, and are become more deſirous of the comforts of a ſettled life. They ſometimes appear in a hat, coat, and waiſtcoat; but no Cherokee has yet been known to ſubmit to the bondage of breeches. Upon the 22d of September our traveller arrived at Joneſburgh, the laſt town in Teneſſee, ſituated at the foot of the Alleganies; and having recroſſed theſe mountains, he again proceeded through the Carolinas to Charleſtown, where he arrived upon the 13th of October, three months and a half after his departure from Philadelphia; and ſoon thereafter he returned to France.

Having given this brief ſketch of Dr Michaux's route, we ſhall now preſent our readers with a ſhort connected account of the weſtern ſtates of the American Union, from ſuch remarks and ſtatements as the author has ſcattered through his narrative.

1. Theſe ſtates are bounded by the Allegany mountains on the eaſt and ſouth; and by the Miſſiſippi, and the lakes Michigan, Huron, and Erie, upon the weſt and north. M. Michaux does not enable us to ſtate the reſpective extent of the three ſtates which lye within theſe boundaries. The ſurface of this extenſive country, although not mountainous, is very uneven; and, except where cultivated, entirely covered with wood. The ſoil is for the moſt part uncommonly fertile: it conſiſts of a rich vegetable mould, of conſiderable depth, reſting upon an immenſe ſtratum of limeſtone, which pervades the whole of this region. Here, indeed, nature ſeems to have exerted to the utmoſt her vegetative powers. In the foreſts, the trees are of extraordinary ſize; M. Michaux having meaſured ſome whoſe circumference extended to forty-ſeven feet. It would be endleſs to deſcribe their varieties; but it is worth while to remark, that the inhabitants are accuſtomed to judge of the quality of the ſoil by the trees, ſome ſpecies being peculiar to the moſt fertile diſtricts. Such, in particular, are the coffee-tree (*Guilandina dioica*), the honey-locuſt (*Gleditſia triacanthos*), and the papaver (*Annona triloba*). When the trees are cleared away, the ſoil, through almoſt the whole of theſe ſtates, is found to repay the cultivator with the moſt abundant harveſts. The principal articles of cultivation are maize and wheat; but in Kentucky, conſiderable quantities of hemp and tobacco

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are alſo raiſed; and in Teneſſee, a great part of the inhabitants are occupied with the culture of cotton. In ordinary ſeaſons, an acre of good land yields forty or fifty Engliſh buſhels of maize; in abundant years, from ſixty to ſeventy-five buſhels; and the culture, after the ground is cleared, appears to be extremely ſimple and eaſy. Wheat is chiefly raiſed for exportation; and good lands generally yield from twenty-five to thirty buſhels each acre, without any manure, and with a ſingle ploughing. The average crop of cotton is three hundred and fifty pounds weight to an acre; and it alſo appears, that its cultivation does not require great labour. But if the ſoil of this country be fertile, it cannot be ſaid that its climate is ſalubrious. Obſtinate intermittent fevers prevail every autumn, and the inhabitants are alſo frequently afflicted with cutaneous diſeaſes. Another diſadvantage, too, ariſes from the want of water in many places, during the ſummer, from the drying up of the ſmaller rivers,—an inconvenience ſo ſerious, as to prove a material obſtacle to the progreſs of cultivation in ſome diſtricts.

2. The population of this country, when compared with its great extent, makes but a poor figure. But it muſt be recollected, that but a few years have elapſed ſince its firſt occupation; and when conſidered under this point of view, the amount will appear ſurpriſing. Thirty years ago, there were ſcarce three thouſand people in the whole of this country; at preſent, it contains more than four hundred thouſand; and, as emigrants ſtill continue to throng to it, the population muſt rapidly accumulate. Our author does not enable us to ſay in what proportions this maſs is diſtributed; but it appears that Kentucky has the largeſt ſhare; its proportion being two hundred and fifty thouſand, including twenty thouſand negro ſlaves. The greater part of the people of theſe ſtates are employed in clearing and cultivating the land, and in rearing cattle; but there is a conſiderable number engaged in manufactures and commerce. The inhabitants of the banks of the Ohio are mighty hunters; a circumſtance by no means propitious to the progreſs of cultivation; for it is eaſier and more ſeducing to kill ſtags and bears, than to fell large trees. In Kentucky and Teneſſee, they are more agricultural; but in all places, the ſcale of cultivation is extremely limited; for, as there are no labourers to be had for money, the operations of each farmer muſt proceed in proportion to the ſtrength of his family. It follows, accordingly, that in poſſeſſions of ſome hundred acres, there are often not more than ten or twelve under cultivation. In the plantations, the people live in miſerable plank huts; but, within, there are always abundance of eatables, and peach brandy or whiſky. The articles manufactured are, leather,

paper, cordage, linen, flour, cotton, and ſpirits; ſome of which afford the materials of a very profitable commerce. The articles imported from Europe, ſeven tenths of which are ſupplied by Great Britain, conſiſt of drugs, iron and tin-wares, pottery, drapery, and mercery. Beſides theſe, they obtain nankeen, tea, coffee, and ſugar, from the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. The whole of theſe importations are carried from the ſea-ports on the Atlantic to Pittſburgh, and from thence diſtributed, by the channel of the Ohio, through all theſe ſtates. The exportations conſiſt of ginſeng, ſalted proviſions, tobacco, hemp, and flour; of all of which a very conſiderable quantity is annually exported. Of flour alone, there was, in 1802, exported 85,570 barrels, each holding 196 pounds. The greater part of the flour exported, is put on board of boats at Louisville, and conveyed to New Orleans, a diſtance of fourteen hundred miles. For nine hundred miles of this long voyage, there is not even a plank hut to be ſeen; and the people who accompany the boats muſt either return by land, or, proceeding by ſea to Philadelphia, go thence to Pittſburgh, and thereafter deſcend to Kentucky by the Ohio. Commerce, indeed, diſplays many of its wonders in this remote country. Ships of conſiderable tonnage, built at the head of the Ohio, two thouſand miles from the ſea, paſs directly to the Weſt Indies with cargoes; and what is perhaps equally ſtriking, the flour with which ſome of them are laden is ground with millſtones imported from France, and carried from the ſeaports into the heart of this vaſt continent. With the progreſs of cultivation, the commerce of the Ohio muſt conſtantly increaſe; and when we conſider what has been already done, there is every reaſon to believe, that the ſame active and enterpriſing ſpirit which now animates its banks, will ſpeedily extend even to the diſtant borders of the Ilinois and Miſſouri, where ſhips will alſo be built, to carry down the Miſſiſippi the productions of the extenſive and fertile regions watered by theſe rivers. The mind delights to contemplate this magnificent perſpective, where, inſtead of foreſts, peopled only with beaſts, it ſees riſing into view cultivated diſtricts, covered with men, and the monuments of their arts.

3. Our author is neither copious nor philoſophical in his account of the manners of this country; but he ſays enough to ſhew, that they are as yet rude and unamiable. The ſcattered and iſolated ſtate in which the people live, and the mutual independence which prevails, are circumſtances by no means favourable to amenity of manners. They have not yet reached that advanced ſtage of ſociety, where there are numerous claſſes who either do not labour at all, or are occupied only with the liberal arts. Their generals diſtil brandy; their colonels keep taverns; and

and their ſtateſmen feed pigs. It is obvious that, in ſuch a ſtate of ſociety, there can be no great refinement; and it ſeems alſo pretty clear, that the political inſtitutions of this country have a natural tendency to add to that roughneſs of character which prevails here. The paſſion for ſpirituous liquors exiſts in a very ſtrong degree among them; and their carouſals ſeldom terminate without ſome ſerious affray. They are hoſpitable to ſtrangers, becauſe they are ſeldom troubled with them, and becauſe they have always plenty of maize and ſmoked hams. Their hoſpitality, too, is always accompanied with impertinent queſtions, and a diſguſting diſplay of national vanity. In politics, they are ſtern Democrats, hating the Federaliſts with appropriate ardour. As to religion, their minds ſeem to be in that ſtate in which gloomy and fanatical impreſſions find eaſy acceſs. Here is a ſect called *Dunkers*, who cheriſh long beards; and alſo vaſt numbers of enthuſiaſts, who retire into woods, where they remain for days in holy communion, round large fires, frequently bawling out, *Glory! Glory!* As there is no eſtabliſhed church in theſe ſtates, it happens, as might be expected, that there are few places of public worſhip; and even where there are churches, it does not appear to us, that the noiſy itinerants who officiate, are remarkably gifted with thoſe qualifications which are neceſſary to attain the great ends of moral and religious inſtruction.

ART. XII. *Academical Queſtions.* By the Right Honourable William Drummond, K. C. F. R. S. F. R. S. E. Author of a Tranſlation of Perſius. Vol. I. 4to. pp. 412. Cadell & Davies, London, 1805.

WE do not know very well what to ſay of this very learned publication. To ſome readers it will probably be enough to announce, that it is occupied with metaphyſical ſpeculations. To others, it may convey a more preciſe idea of its character, to be told, that though it gave a violent headach, in leſs than an hour, to the moſt intrepid logician of our fraternity, he could not help reading on till he came to the end of the volume.

The book is written, we think, with more rhetorical ornament, and enlivened with more various literature, than is uſual in ſimilar diſcuſſions; but it is not, upon this account, leſs 'hard to be ſpelled;' and after peruſing it with conſiderable attention, we are by no means abſolutely certain that we have apprehended the true ſcope and deſign of the author, or attained to a juſt perception of the ſyſtem or method by which he has been directed.

The ſubjects of his inveſtigation are ſo various, his criticiſms ſo unſparing, and his concluſions ſo hoſtile to every ſpecies of dogmatiſm, that we have ſometimes been tempted to think, that he had no other view in this publication, than to expoſe the weakneſs of human underſtanding, and to mortify the pride of philoſophy, by a collection of inſoluble caſes, and undeterminable problems. It is but fair to recollect, however, that Mr Drummond has avowedly reſerved the full expoſition of his own theory to a ſubſequent volume, and profeſſes, in this, to do little more than point out the inſufficiency and contradictions that may be fairly imputed to thoſe of preceding philoſophers. It is only the taſk of demolition which he propoſes now to accompliſh; and it muſt be owned, that he has ſpread abroad his rubbiſh, and ſcattered abroad his duſt, in a very alarming manner. After being almoſt ſtifled and blinded in contemplating this operation, we hope ſoon to accompany him in a more pleaſing and profitable labour, and to ſtudy the proportions of the fabric he propoſes to erect on the ground which he has cleared with ſo much activity.

Though we do not exactly agree with the learned author in the eſtimate he has formed of the direct and practical utility of theſe abſtract ſpeculations, we certainly concur with him in thinking, that they afford a ſalutary exerciſe to the underſtanding, and indicate at leaſt, if they do not ſatisfy, an exalted and philoſophical curioſity. Inſtead of unfitting the mind for ſucceſsful exertion in other departments of ſtudy, we are inclined to agree with Mr Drummond in thinking, that they have a tendency to invigorate and incite it; and ſubſcribe heartily to all the ſentiments propounded upon this ſubject, in his eloquent, but ſomewhat rhetorical, preface. The following paſſages are all we can afford to lay before our readers from this part of the work.

'Many perſons there are, who have conceived a prejudice againſt the ſcience of which I ſpeak, becauſe they erroneouſly imagine, that it indiſpoſes the mind towards other purſuits, which are more agreeable to popular taſte. The examples of ſeveral celebrated men may be adduced in contradiction to this opinion, from the time when

Omnis Ariſtippum decuit color et ſtatus, et res.

to the laſt century, when the taſte and knowledge of Berkeley ſurpriſed the artiſts of Italy; the accompliſhments of the young Helvetius were admired in the circles of Paris; and the grave and the gay, the ſage and the youth, could take delight in the converſation of the amiable Hume. *I am the perſon whom you wiſh to ſee*, ſaid Plato to his foreign gueſts, who deſired their agreeable hoſt to introduce them to his graver nameſake the philoſopher. Why ſhould it be imagined, that the mind grows ſevere as it becomes enlightened, or that the knowledge of man unfits us for the ſociety of mankind?

'It is, indeed, curious to remark the ſtrange notions which men, who

who are quite ignorant of its nature, have formed of the firſt philoſophy. There are ſome who ſeem ſeriouſly to believe, that this ſcience ſerves only to darken and bewilder the underſtanding; while others ſuppoſe, that it conſiſts in the babbling of a pedantic jargon, which conſtituted the barbarous language of the ſcholaſtic learning. If a perplexed reaſoner puzzle himſelf and his audience, we are almoſt always ſure to hear his metaphyſical ſubtlety reproved or lamented; and he, upon his part, ſeldom fails to aſcribe the confuſion of his ideas to the obſcure nature of all ſpeculative doctrines. If a pert rhetorician get entangled in his own ſophiſtries, he is ever ready to accuſe himſelf of having too much of the very logic which he wants. There is not a mere *Tyro* in literature, who has blundered round the meaning of a chapter in Plato, but is content to miſtake himſelf for a philoſopher. A ſciolift cannot ſet up for an atheiſt, without firſt hailing himſelf a metaphyſician; while an ignorant dogmatiſt no ſooner finds himſelf embarraſſed with a doubt, than he ſeeks to avenge his offended vanity, by repreſenting all metaphyſical inquiries as idle or miſchievous. Thus the nobleſt of the ſciences is miſtaken and vilified by the folly of ſome, and by the prejudices of others; by the impertinent pretenſions of a few, who could never underſtand it, and by the unjuſtifiable cenſures of many, who have never given it a fair and candid examination. He, however, who has been accuſtomed to meditate the principles of things, the ſprings of action, the foundations of political government, the ſources of moral law, the nature of the paſſions, the influence of habit and aſſociation, the formation of character and temper, the faculties of the ſoul, and the philoſophy of mind, will not be perſuaded that theſe ſubjects have been unworthy of his patient attention, becauſe preſumptuous writers have abuſed the liberty of inveſtigation, or becauſe dull ones have found it to be unavailing. He knows that metaphyſics do not exclude other learning—that, on the contrary, they blend themſelves with all the ſciences. He feels the love of truth to grow ſtrong with the ſearch of it; he confeſſes the very bounded powers of human underſtanding, while he contemplates the immenſity of nature, and the majeſty of God; but he thinks, that his reſeaches may contribute to enlarge and correct his notions; that they may teach him how to reaſon with preciſion; and that they may inſtruct him in the knowledge of himſelf. His time, he believes, is ſeldom employed to greater advantage, than when he conſiders what may be the nature of his intellectual being, examines the extent of his moral duties, inveſtigates the ſources of happineſs, and demonſtrates the means by which it may be more generally diffuſed.'—

'It is nothing to him, that his tone and his language are ill imitated by the ſophiſt; that he is conſidered as a uſeleſs member of ſociety by the heavy plodding man of buſineſs; or that he is expoſed to the impotent ridicule of the gaudy coxcomb, by whom he can never be approved, becauſe he can never be underſtood. What is it to him, though his name be unknown among the monopolizers, the ſchemers, and the

projectors, that throng the crowded capital of a mercantile nation? What is it to him, though his talents be undervalued by the votaries and the victims of diſſipation, folly, and faſhion? What is it to him, though grandeur ſhould have withdrawn its protection from genius; though ambition ſhould be ſatisfied with power alone; and though power ſhould only exert its efforts to preſerve itſelf? Theſe things may not affect him: they may neither interrupt the courſe of his ſtudies, nor diſturb the ſerenity of his mind. But what muſt be his feelings, if he ſhould find, that philoſophy is perſecuted, where ſcience is profeſſed to be taught? Are there not ſome, who ſeem deſirous of excluding it from the plan of public education? The advantages which are to be derived from claſſical knowledge, are well underſtood in one place; and a profound acquaintance with mathematics is highly eſtimated in another: while the ſtudy of the human mind, which is the ſtudy of human nature, and that examination of principles which is ſo neceſſary to the ſcrutiny of truth, are either diſcouraged as dangerous, or neglected as uſeleſs.' Pref. p. v.—viii.

In peruſing this volume, we had occaſion repeatedly to regret, that the author had not prefixed to it a ſhort ſummary or analyſis of its contents, by the help of which we might have purſued the chain of his reaſonings with greater facility, and been better able to diſcover the coherence of his ſpeculations, or to detect their inconſiſtency. In order, in ſome meaſure, to ſupply this deficiency, and to enable thoſe who may not agree with us in opinion, to judge for themſelves of the value of our author's ſpeculations, we ſhall endeavour to combine, with our obſervations on his diſputable doctrines, a brief abſtract of his whole courſe of reaſoning.

Mr Drummond ſets out with ſome obſervations upon the common philoſophical definition or deſcription of mind; and is very ill ſatisfied with thoſe who call it an incorporeal ſubſtance, in which powers or qualities inhere, as well as with thoſe who affirm that it is ſometimes active and ſometimes paſſive, according as it rouſes itſelf to voluntary exertion, or receives impreſſions from other exiſtences. Of ſubſtance, he obſerves, we know nothing; and can neither aſſume its exiſtence, nor make any aſſertion with relation to it, without falling into the greateſt contradictions. In particular, he obſerves, we can never aſſume the exiſtence of a variety or plurality of ſubſtances diſtinguiſhable from each other: ſubſtance can only be defined relatively, as that in which qualities inhere, and which has an equal capacity to ſupport all conſiſtent qualities. There can be no reaſon, therefore, for diſtinguiſhing between incorporeal and corporeal ſubſtance; and the qualities of thought and feeling may inhere in the ſame ſubſtance with the qualities of extenſion and ſolidity. It is Mr Drummond's opinion, indeed, that we have no idea of ſubſtance at all; and that the unwarrantable

unwarrantable assumption of its existence has been the source of much error and contradiction in philosophy. Substance is that which remains after abstracting all those qualities, by which any sort of sensation may be excited. How then is it possible to prove its existence, or to pretend to have any conception of it? 'He who would find something,' says our author, 'must be careful not to take away until nothing be left.'

The doctrine of separate powers and faculties in the mind is also treated by our author with very little indulgence. The supposition of distinct faculties is inconsistent, he asserts, with the unity of the mind; and, in fact, we have no more notion of active power, than we have of substance. In material phenomena we perceive change only, but never the power by which change is produced; and, in mind, it is in vain to say that we experience the power of volition over our ideas, unless it can be explained how the occurrence of an idea can be ascribed to an act of our will, when it must necessarily have presented itself before we could will any thing about it. Mr Drummond seems also to take part with those who maintain the doctrine of moral necessity; and after observing, that 'no man will pretend that he can choose whether he shall feel or not,' he proceeds to state, that

'It is not because the mind previously wills it, that one association of ideas gives place to another. It is because the new ideas excite that attention, which the old no longer employ; and because the mind cannot but give its attention to the strongest sensations and clearest ideas, which offer themselves to its contemplation; and as we thus perceive certain ideas and sensations without our choice, so we constantly attend to them, and their dependent trains, until some new leading sensations or ideas attract our notice.' p. 13. 14.

In order to illustrate this position, and to shew that in all cases where one sentiment or train of ideas gives place to another, it is only because a stronger sentiment or a clearer idea is suggested to the mind, he enters into an examination of the passions of anger, grief, and love, and endeavours to make out that the sentiments and ideas to which they give birth, can never be supplanted or removed by any act of the will or the understanding; but can only be effaced by some more lively sentiment, or more interesting idea.

'It is not, then, from that state of the soul, which we denominate passion, that we learn to acquire any notion of mental power. On the contrary, it is evident, that we always yield to the influence of the prevailing sentiment. If compassion touch the heart, anger is disarmed; if fear alarm us, the projects of ambition are suspended. When the rancour of envy is felt, the tenderness of friendship is forgotten. We are impelled to action, or we desist from it, as we are constrained by the stronger motive. Our passions are not the children of our choice.

We neither feel, nor ceaſe to feel, according to any ſuppoſed power of the will. What, indeed, is the will, but the ſentiment of deſire which prevails in our minds?' p. 20.

Mr Drummond's next objection is to the common philoſophical idea, of the intellect being ſometimes active and ſometimes paſſive; and, in order to root out this hereſy more fundamentally and ſecurely, he ſeems to us to deny that we have any idea of action and paſſion at all. The appearances, by which it may be ſuggeſted in the material world, he gets rid of at once, by reminding us that there is no philoſophical evidence for the exiſtence of a material world; and that when we ſay one body acts upon another, we mean merely that a change has taken place in our own ſenſations. Of this doctrine we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak afterwards; but with regard to the active and paſſive ſtates of the mind, we think he is very ſucceſsful in expoſing the inaccurary of the ordinary philoſophical language, and the obſcurity of our conceptions upon the ſubject. After obſerving that it is admitted by Locke and his followers, that the mind of a new-born infant is merely paſſive in receiving impreſſions from the ſurrounding objects, he ſays,

'It is difficult to imagine, how the ſoul, which is paſſive, while it receives its firſt impreſſions, ſhould afterwards become the agent, and obtain any controul over its ſubſequent perceptions. Yet no ſooner does the adult become capable of reflection, than we are aſſured by philoſophers, that he may combine, compare, and recall his ideas, according to his will. Thus we ſee by the light of this luminous theory, that the paſſive ſoul becomes active, that active ideas become paſſive, and that mind is inert in ſimple apprehenſion, active in judgment, and is conſequently both inert and active in underſtanding every ſyllogiſm.' p. 31.

He adds, after revewing ſeveral other ſpeculations upon the ſame ſubject,

'We have, no doubt, to admire the variety of thoſe analogies, and the happy choice of thoſe figures, tropes, and metaphors, by which different writers have expreſſed the ſtate of the mind. Sometimes the human intellect is likened to a piece of wax; ſometimes to a dark chamber; and ſometimes to a ſheet of white paper. Here it is a phyſical point in the midſt of a material ſyſtem, or the intelligent centre of a ſphere of attraction and repulſion. There it is placed in a conglomerate gland, which ſecretes the animal ſpirits from the blood. Now we hear of a *ſenſorium*, the proper ſeat of the ſoul: now we are informed, that the mind is a ſtationary monad, which neither acts, nor is acted upon: and now we are ſhown a curious and complicated machine, where ideas and nervous vibrations are proved to be exponents of each other; where the nature of ſenſations is illuſtrated by the ſtrings of a harpſichord; and where mental *phenomena* are explained by hints taken from the

the *pendulum* of a clock. A grave logician of the North talks of ide being *lodged* in the understanding; and a celebrated French metaphysician makes us mount to a garret in a castle, to have a peep at the country through a hole in the shutter.' p. 27. 28.

Having thus, in a general way, expressed his dissatisfaction with all the prevailing doctrines of philosophers upon those fundamental tenets, and scattered a few incidental hints as to the tendency of his own opinions, our author concludes the Second chapter with this alarming enumeration of the topics which he conceives it to be necessary to investigate thoroughly, before we can pretend to form any sound opinion as to the nature and attributes of mind.

'It is necessary, at least, that we should know what is meant by the substance, powers, and qualities of matter, before we even allow, that any analogy can be drawn from their existence, and before we attribute the same things to spiritual natures. We ought also to inquire what is the connexion between the mind and the body, and what is their mutual dependence on each other, before we assert their union, and reason about their intercourse. The immediate objects of knowledge should be distinctly comprehended by those who hardily maintain, that the material archetypes of ideas are really cognizable by sense, or by intellect. For this purpose, and in order to facilitate the progress of our inquiries, it will be proper to examine the doctrines which the most enlightened men have held on these questions, and to develope some of the philosophical systems, which have had, or which now have, the greatest celebrity. After these researches, I shall be better enabled to explain my own opinions, and my readers will perhaps be less likely to be misled by false analogies and inapplicable comparisons.' p. 32.

In conformity with this resolution, Mr Drummond begins with the doctrine of Locke, and expresses, we think, very successfully, the futility of that celebrated author's definition of substance, as '*one knows not what*' support of such qualities as are capable of producing simple ideas in us. This notion of substance he then shews to be derived from the old Platonic doctrine of the primary matter, or υλη, to which the same objections are applicable.

Having thus discarded substance from the list of existences, Mr Drummond proceeds to do as much for the qualities of matter. In this chapter, indeed, he avows himself to be a determined idealist; and it is the scope of his whole argument to prove, that what we call qualities in external substances, are in fact nothing more than sensations in our own minds, and that what have been termed primary qualities, are in this respect entirely upon a footing with those which are called secondary. His reasoning upon this subject coincides very nearly with that of Bishop Berkeley; of whom, indeed, he says, that if his arguments be not really conclusive, it is certainly to be lamented that they should have been so imperfectly answered.

To

To us, we will confeſs, it does not ſeem of very great conſequence to determine whether there be any room for a diſtinction between the primary and ſecondary qualities of matter: for though we are rather inclined to hold that Dr Reid's obſervations have eſtabliſhed its poſſibility, we cannot help ſaying, that it is a diſtinction which does not touch at all upon the fundamental queſtion, as to the evidence which we have, by our ſenſes, for the exiſtence of a material world. Dr Reid and his followers contend as ſtrenuouſly for the real exiſtence of thoſe material qualities which produce in us the ſenſations of heat, or of colour, as of thoſe which give us intimations of ſolidity, figure, or extenſion. We know a little more, according to them, about the one ſort of qualities than the other; but the evidence we have for their exiſtence, is exactly the ſame in both caſes; nor is it more a law of our nature, that the ſenſation of reſiſtance ſhould ſuggeſt to us the defineable quality of ſolidity in an external object, than that the ſenſation of heat ſhould ſuggeſt to us, that quality is an external object, which we cannot define otherwiſe than as the external cauſe of our ſenſation. Mr Drummond, we think, has not attended ſufficiently to this part of his antagoniſt's poſition; and after aſſuming, ſomewhat too precipitately, that ſecondary qualities are univerſally admitted to have no exiſtence but in the mind of him who perceives them, proceeds, with an air of triumph that is at all events premature, to demonſtrate, that there is nothing in the caſe of primary qualities by which they can be diſtinguiſhed in this reſpect from the ſecondary. The fact unqueſtionably is, that Dr Reid and his followers aſſert the poſitive and independent exiſtence of ſecondary, as well as of primary qualities in matter; and that there is, upon their hypotheſis, exactly the ſame evidence for the one as for the other. The general problem, as to the probable exiſtence of matter—unqueſtionably the moſt fundamental and momentous in the whole ſcience of metaphyſics—may be fairly and intelligibly ſtated in a very few words.

Biſhop Berkeley, and after him Mr Drummond, have obſerved, that, by our ſenſes, we can have nothing but ſenſations; and that ſenſations, being affections of mind, cannot poſſibly bear any reſemblance to matter, or any of its qualities; and hence they infer, that we cannot poſſibly have any evidence for the exiſtence of matter; and that what we term our perception of its qualities, is in fact nothing elſe than a ſenſation in our own minds. Dr Reid, on the other hand, admitting that the primary function of our ſenſes is to make us conſcious of certain ſenſations, which can have no ſort of reſemblance or affinity to the qualities of matter, has aſſerted it as *a fact* admitting of no diſpute, but recognized by every human creature, that theſe ſenſations

ſations neceſſarily ſuggeſt to us the notion of certain external exiſtences, endowed with particular defineable qualities; and that theſe *perceptions*, by which our *ſenſations* are accompanied, are eaſily and clearly diſtinguiſhable from the ſenſations themſelves, and cannot be confounded with them, without the moſt wilful perverſity. Perception, again, he holds, neceſſarily implies the exiſtence of the object perceived; and the reality of a material world is thus as clearly deduced from the exerciſe of this faculty, as the reality of our own exiſtence can be from our conſciouſneſs, or other ſenſations. It appears, therefore, that there are two queſtions to be conſidered in determining on the merits of this controverſy. *Firſt*, whether there be any room for a diſtinction between ſenſation and perception; and, *ſecondly*, if we ſhall allow ſuch a diſtinction, whether perception does neceſſarily imply the real and external exiſtence of the objects perceived.

If by perception, indeed, we underſtand, as Dr Reid appears to have done, the immediate and poſitive diſcovery of external exiſtences, it is evident that the mere aſſumption of this faculty puts an end to the whole queſtion; ſince it neceſſarily takes thoſe exiſtences for granted, and, upon that hypotheſis, defines the faculty in queſtion to be that by which we diſcover their qualities. This, however, it is plain, is not reaſoning, but aſſertion; and it is not the mere aſſertion of a fact, which in theſe ſubjects is the whole perhaps of our legitimate philoſophy, but of ſomething which may or may not be inferred from the fact, according to the views of the inquirer. The inquiry is an inquiry into the functions and operations of *mind*; and all that can poſſibly be ſtated as *fact* on ſuch an occaſion, muſt relate to the ſtate and affections of mind only: but to aſſume the exiſtence of a material world, in order afterwards to define one function of mind to be that by which it diſcovers material qualities, is evidently blending hypotheſis in the ſtatement, and prejudging the controverſy by aſſumption. The fact itſelf, we really conceive not to be liable to any kind of doubt or diſpute; and yet the ſtatement of it, obvious as it is, ſeems calculated to retrench a good deal from each of the oppoſite aſſertions. The fact, if we be not greatly miſtaken, is confeſſedly as follows.

We have occaſionally certain ſenſations which we call heat, pain, reſiſtance, &c. Theſe feelings, of courſe, belong only to the mind, of which they are peculiar affections; and both parties ſeem agreed in aſſerting, that they have no reſemblance, or neceſſary reference, to any thing external. Dr Reid has made this indeed the very ground-work of his reaſonings on the ſubject of perception; and it will not probably be called in queſtion by his antagoniſts,

goniſts, who go the length of inferring from it, that nothing but mind can be conceived to have an exiſtence in nature. This, then, is one fact which we may ſafely aſſume as quite certain and indiſputable, *viz.* that our ſenſations are affections of the mind, and have no neceſſary reference to any other exiſtence. But there is another fact at leaſt as obvious and indiſputable, which the one party ſeems diſpoſed to overlook, and the other to inveſt with undue authority in the diſcuſſion. This ſecond fact is, that ſome of the ſenſations in queſtion are uniformly and irreſiſtibly accompanied in us by the apprehenſion and belief of certain external exiſtences, diſtinguiſhed by peculiar qualities. The fact certainly admits of no diſpute; and, accordingly, the philoſophers who firſt attempted to prove that this belief was without foundation, have uniformly claimed the merit of diſabuſing mankind of a natural and univerſal illuſion. Now this apprehenſion and belief of external exiſtences, is in itſelf as much an affection of mind, as the ſenſations by which it is accompanied; and thoſe who deny the diſtinction between perception and ſenſation, might be juſtified perhaps in aſſerting, that it is only a ſenſation of another kind: at the ſame time, as the eſſence of it conſiſts in the apprehenſion of an independent exiſtence, there can be no harm in diſtinguiſhing it, by a ſeparate appellation, from thoſe ſenſations which centre in the ſentient being, and ſuggeſt to him no idea of any other exiſtence. It is in this ſenſe alone, it appears to us, that perception can be underſtood in ſtrict philoſophical language. It means no more than that affection of the mind which conſiſts in an apprehenſion and belief in the exiſtence of external objects.

In this ſenſe of the word, there can be no doubt that there is a real diſtinction between ſenſation and perception; inaſmuch as there is a diſtinction between our feelings of pain, reſiſtance, &c. and our conception and belief of real external exiſtences; but they differ merely as one affection of mind may differ from another; and it is plainly unwarrantable to aſſume the real exiſtence of external objects as a part of the ſtatement of an intellectual phenomenon. After allowing the reality of this diſtinction, there is ſtill room therefore for conſidering the ſecond queſtion to which we alluded in the outſet of this diſcuſſion, viz. Whether perception does neceſſarily imply the exiſtence of external objects.

Upon this ſubject, we entertain an opinion which will not give ſatisfaction, we are afraid, to either of the contending parties. We think that the exiſtence of external objects is not *neceſſarily* implied in the phenomena of perception; but we think that there is no complete proof of their nonexiſtence, and that philoſophy,

philoſophy, inſtead of being benefited, would be ſubjected to needleſs embarraſſments by the aſſumption of the ideal theory.

The reality of external exiſtences is not neceſſarily implied in the phenomena of perception; becauſe we can eaſily imagine that our impreſſions and conceptions might have been exactly as they are, although matter had never been created. Belief, we know, to be no infallible criterion of actual exiſtence; and it is impoſſible to doubt, that we might have been ſo framed as to receive all the impreſſions which we now aſcribe to the agency of external objects, from the mechaniſm of our own minds, or the particular volition of the Deity. The phenomena of dreaming, and of ſome ſpecies of madneſs, ſeem to afford experimental proofs of the poſſibility we have now ſtated, and demonſtrate, in our apprehenſion, that perception, as we have defined it, (*i. e.* an apprehenſion and belief of external exiſtences), does not neceſſarily imply the independent reality of its objects. It is abſurd to ſay that we have the ſame evidence for the exiſtence of external objects that we have for the exiſtence of our own ſenſations. It is quite plain, that our belief in the former is founded altogether on our conſciouſneſs of the latter; and that the evidence of this belief is conſequently of a ſecondary nature. We cannot doubt of the exiſtence of our ſenſations, without being guilty of the groſſeſt contradiction; but we may doubt of the exiſtence of the material world, without any contradiction at all. If we annihilate our ſenſations, we annihilate ourſelves; and, of courſe, leave no being to doubt or to reaſon. If we annihilate the external world, we ſtill leave entire all thoſe ſenſations and perceptions which a different hypotheſis would refer to its myſterious agency on our minds.

On the other hand, it is certainly going too far to aſſert, that the nonexiſtence of matter is proved by ſuch evidence as neceſſarily to command our aſſent; ſince it evidently implies no contradiction to ſuppoſe, that ſuch a thing as matter may exiſt, and that an omnipotent being might make us capable of diſcovering its qualities. The inſtinctive and inſurmountable belief that we have of its exiſtence, certainly is not to be ſurrendered, merely becauſe it is poſſible to ſuppoſe it erroneous, or difficult to comprehend how a material and an immaterial ſubſtance can act upon each other. The evidence of this univerſal and irreſiſtible belief is not to be altogether diſregarded; and, unleſs it can be ſhewn that it leads to contradictions and abſurdities, the utmoſt length that philoſophy can warrantably go, is to conclude that it may be deluſive; but that it may alſo be true.

The rigorous maxim, of giving no faith to any thing ſhort of direct and immediate conſciouſneſs, ſeems more calculated, we think,

think, to perplex than to ſimplify our philoſophy, and will run us up, in two vaſt ſtrides, to the very brink of abſolute annihilation. We deny the exiſtence of the material world, becauſe we have not for it the primary evidence of conſciouſneſs, and becauſe the clear conception and indeſtructible belief we have of it, *may be* fallacious, for any thing we can prove to the contrary. This concluſion annihilates at once all external objects; and, among them, our own bodies, and the bodies *and minds* of all other men; for it is quite evident that we can have no evidence of the exiſtence of other minds, except through the mediation of the matter they are ſuppoſed to animate; and if matter be nothing more than an affection of our own minds, there is an end to the exiſtence of every other. This firſt ſtep, therefore, reduces the whole univerſe to the mind of the individual reaſoner, and leaves no exiſtence in nature but one mind, with its complement of ſenſations and ideas. The ſecond ſtep goes ſtill farther; and no one can heſitate to take it, who has ventured deliberately on the firſt. If our ſenſes may deceive us, ſo may our memory;—if we will not believe in the exiſtence of matter, becauſe it is not vouched by internal conſciouſneſs, and becauſe it is conceivable that it ſhould not exiſt, we cannot conſiſtently believe in the reality of any paſt impreſſion; for which, in like manner, we cannot have the direct evidence of conſciouſneſs, and of which our preſent recollection may poſſibly be fallacious. Even upon the vulgar hypotheſis, we know that memory is much more deceitful than perception; and there is ſtill greater hazard in aſſuming the reality of any paſt exiſtence from our preſent recollection of it, than in relying on the reality of a preſent exiſtence from our immediate perception. If we diſcredit our memory, however, and deny all exiſtence of which we have not a preſent conſciouſneſs or ſenſation, it is evident that we muſt annihilate our own perſonal identity, and refuſe to believe that we had thought or ſenſation at any previous moment. There can be no reaſoning, therefore, nor knowledge, nor opinion; and we muſt end by virtually annihilating ourſelves, and denying that any thing whatſoever exiſts in nature, but the preſent ſolitary and momentary impreſſion.

This is the legitimate and inevitable termination of that determined ſcepticiſm which refuſes to believe any thing without the higheſt of all evidence, and chooſes to conclude that every thing is not, which may poſſibly be conceived not to be. The proceſs of reaſoning which it implies, is neither long nor intricate; and its concluſion would be undeniably juſt, if every thing was neceſſarily true which could be aſſerted without a contradiction. It is perfectly true, that we are *abſolutely ſure* of nothing but what we feel at the preſent moment; and that

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it is poſſible to diſtinguiſh between the evidence we have for the exiſtence of the preſent impreſſion, and the evidence of any other exiſtence. The firſt alone is complete and unqueſtionable; we may heſitate about all the reſt without any abſolute contradiction. But the diſtinction, we apprehend, is in itſelf of as little uſe in philoſophy, as in ordinary life; and the abſolute and poſitive denial of all exiſtence, except that of our immediate ſenſation, altogether raſh and unwarranted. The objects of our perception and of our recollection, certainly *may* exiſt, although we cannot demonſtrate that they *muſt*; and when, in ſpite of all our abſtractions, we find that we muſt come back, and not only reaſon with our fellow creatures as ſeparate exiſtences, but engage daily in ſpeculations about the qualities and properties of matter, it muſt appear, at leaſt, an unprofitable refinement which would lead us to dwell on the poſſibility of their nonexiſtence. There is no ſceptic, probably, who would be bold enough to maintain, that this ſingle doctrine of the nonexiſtence of any thing but our preſent impreſſions, would conſtitute a juſt ſyſtem of logic and moral philoſophy; and if, after flouriſhing with it as an unfruitful paradox in the outſet, we are obliged to recur to the ordinary courſe of obſervation and conjecture as to the nature of our faculties, it may be doubted whether any real benefit has been derived from its promulgation, or whether the hypotheſis can be received into any ſober ſyſtem of philoſophy. To deny the exiſtence of matter and of mind, indeed, is not to philoſophize, but to deſtroy the materials of philoſophy. It requires no extraordinary ingenuity or power of reaſoning to perceive the grounds upon which their exiſtence may be *doubted*; but we acknowledge that we cannot ſee how it can be ſaid to have been *diſproved*; and think we perceive very clearly, that philoſophy will neither be ſimplified nor abridged by refuſing to take it for granted.

Upon the whole, then, we are inclined to think, that the conception and belief which we have of material objects (which is what we mean by the perception of them) does not amount to a complete proof of their exiſtence, but renders it ſufficiently probable; that the ſuperior and complete aſſurance we have of the exiſtence of our preſent ſenſations, does by no means entitle us poſitively to deny the reality of any other exiſtence; and that as this ſpeculative ſcepticiſm neither renders us independent of the ordinary modes of inveſtigation, nor aſſiſts us materially in the uſe of them, it is inexpedient to dwell long upon it in the courſe of our philoſophical inquiries, and much more adviſeable to proceed upon the ſuppoſition that the real condition of things is conformable to our natural apprehenſions.

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The little ſketch we have now ventured to offer of the abſtract philoſophy of ſcepticiſm, will render it unneceſſary for us to follow our author minutely through the different branches of his inquiry. Overlooking, or at leaſt undervaluing the indiſputable fact, that our ſenſations are uniformly accompanied with a diſtinct apprehenſion, and firm belief in the exiſtence of real external objects, he endeavours to prove, that the qualities which we aſcribe to them are in reality nothing more than names for our peculiar ſenſations; and examines, in this way, the qualities of ſolidity, extenſion, and motion, in three ſucceſſive chapters. In theſe he has accumulated all the difficulties which adhere to theſe conceptions ſo long as we perſiſt in deſcribing them as qualities of matter; and it will not be denied, that they are very great and diſtreſſing. We are by no means certain, however, that they would be removed, by reſolving theſe qualities into affections of our own minds; for inconſiſtency may exiſt among ideas, as well as incompatibility among things; and we are ſtrongly inclined to think, that the definitions which Mr Drummond has ſubſtituted in place of the vulgar ones, will not be thought to eclipſe their predeceſſors in point of perſpicuity. '*Solidity*,' he ſays, 'is that ſimple mode of which reſiſtance is the ſimple idea.' '*Extenſion* may not improperly be termed a ſimple mode of duration;' and *Motion*, the moſt puzzling of the whole, may be defined, it ſeems, 'Mutation in the combinations of our ideas of extenſion.'

Theſe definitions bring us to the end of the Eighth chapter; and, conſidering that the author has now delivered what appears to him to be concluſive proof of the nonexiſtence of matter, we were not a little ſurpriſed to find him begin the Ninth with ſome obſervations on 'the difficulty of explaining the intercourſe which is carried on between matter and mind.' In order to elucidate this myſterious ſubject, he then proceeds to examine, in detail, the five ſenſes; and, after deſcribing the organ and functions of each, with more diſplay of phyſiological erudition than was perhaps neceſſary, he proceeds to ſhew, that becauſe men differ in their opinions of the ſame object, it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe that they actually perceive any real object at all, as a real exiſtence muſt always appear the ſame to thoſe who actually perceive it. This inquiry is extremely amuſing, and is enlivened with a great variety of learned anecdotes and curious obſervations; but it appears to us to be altogether ſophiſtical and unſatisfactory with a view to the object for which it ſeems to have been undertaken. There are many reaſons which confirm us in this opinion.

In the firſt place, if the author really thought that we never perceived external objects themſelves, but were merely conſcious of

of certain changes in our own sensations, it was inconsistent in him to say any thing of the intercourse that subsists between mind and matter, or of the difficulties that attend upon that inquiry. In the second place, it is quite inconsistent to begin an inquiry, the object of which is to shew, that we have no reason to believe in the existence of matter at all, by an elaborate description of the *material* organs of sense, and an abstract of the physiological theories which account for their operation. In the third place, if he really believes that matter does not exist, he cannot, with any consistency, seek to support that opinion, by referring to the opposite opinions which *different individuals* entertain as to the supposed objects of their perception; because, if matter does not exist, we can have no evidence for the existence of different individuals, and can found no argument on the disagreement of their opinions. Finally, it is remarkable, that the disagreements which Mr Drummond has specified, are none of them of a nature to justify his conclusions, even if the shape of his argument entitled him to refer to them.

His illustrations are of this nature. Water, which feels tepid to a Laplander, would appear cold to a native of Sumatra: but the same water cannot be both hot and cold: therefore, it is to be inferred that neither of them is affected by any real quality in the external body, but that each describes merely his own sensations. Now, the conclusion here is plainly altogether unwarranted by the fact; and it is quite certain that both the persons in question perceive the same quality in the water, though they are affected by it in a different manner. Heat and cold are not different qualities, but different degrees of the same quality, and probably exist only relatively to each other. If the water is of a higher temperature than the air, or the body of the person who touches it, he will call it warm; if of a lower temperature, he will call it cold. But this does not prove, by any means, that the difference between two distinct temperatures is ideal, or that it is not always perceived by all individuals in the very same way. If Mr Drummond could find out a person who not only thought the water cold which other people called warm, but also thought that warm which they perceived to be cold, he might have some foundation for his inference; but while all mankind agree that ice is cold, and steam hot, and concur indeed most exactly in their judgments of the *comparative* heat of all external bodies, it is plainly a mere quibble on the convertible nature of these qualities, to call in question the identity of their perceptions, because they make the variable standard of their own temperature the rule for denominating other bodies hot or cold. In the same way, Mr Drummond goes on to say, one man calls the flavour of assafetida nauseous, and another thinks it agree-

able;—one nation delights in a ſpecies of food which to its neighbours appears diſguſting. How, then, can we ſuppoſe that they perceive the ſame real qualities, when their judgments in regard to them are ſo diametrically oppoſite? Now, nothing, we conceive, is more obvious than the fallacy of this reaſoning. The *liking*, or *diſliking*, of men to a particular object, has nothing to do with the perception of its external qualities; and they may differ entirely as to their opinion of its agreeableneſs, though they concur perfectly as to the deſcription of its properties. One man may admire a tall woman, and another a ſhort one; but it would be rather raſh to infer, that they did not agree in recognizing a difference in ſtature, or that they had no uniform ideas of magnitude in general. In the ſame way, one perſon may have an antipathy to ſalt meat, and another a liking for it; but they both perceive it to be ſalt, and both agree in deſcribing it by that appellation. To give any degree of plauſibility to Mr Drummond's inferences, it would be neceſſary for him to ſhew that ſome men thought brandy and Cayenne pepper inſipid and taſteleſs, and objected at the ſame time to milk and ſpring water as exceſſively acrid and pungent.

Theſe obſervations appear to us ſo extremely obvious, and at the ſame time ſo deciſive of the fallacy of this part of our author's ſpeculations, that we are really ſurpriſed how a writer of ſo much acuteneſs ſhould have failed to anticipate them. The chapter, however, contains a great number of curious particulars, and affords more ſatisfactory evidence of the author's extent of reading, than of the ſoundneſs of his abſtract philoſophy.

With theſe remarks upon the ſenſes, which the diſciple of Berkeley will hardly allow to form any valuable addition to his favourite theory, Mr Drummond cloſes the *firſt* part of his performance, and proceeds, in the *ſecond*, 'to review the ſyſtems and opinions of the moſt eminent philoſophers who have flouriſhed ſince the revival of letters.' His object, in this inquiry, is to ſhew, that 'there is no ſyſtem which has conſiſtently accounted for intellectual phenomena, while the doctrine of *ſubſtance*, with its powers and attributes, has been admitted.' All that we know with certainty of Mr Drummond's own ſyſtem, is, that he entirely rejects this doctrine. In this review, he enters very much at large into the reaſoning of the authors whom he enumerates; and, without adhering very rigidly, in ſo far as we can diſcover, to any one ſet of opinions himſelf, controverts and confutes the greater part of their poſitions with ſingular ingenuity and addreſs. It will not be required of us to follow him exactly through the whole extent of this winding and rugged path; but we can ſafely promiſe to thoſe whoſe inclinations

inclinations may lead them to venture upon it, that they will be entertained with as rich a diſplay of learning and ingenuity, and refreſhed with a larger allowance of ornament and eloquence, than they will eaſily find in any other metaphyſical publication. The author, whoſe diſapprobation ſeems to be extended, with laudable impartiality, to ancient and modern, and foreign and domeſtic philoſophers, has digeſted the ſyſtems of each with more diligence, and exhibited them with more impartiality, than is commonly to be found in an antagoniſt; and has availed himſelf, in particular, of his familiarity with the Greek writers, to trace out the origin of many truths and many errors that have recently been claimed as diſcoveries. We ſhall do little more than indicate the courſe of his inveſtigation.

He begins with Des-Cartes, of whoſe ſyſtem he favours us with a very copious expoſition, and ſpends more time than we ſhould have conceived neceſſary in expoſing the fallacy of his famous axiom, 'Cogito, ergo ſum,' which evidently aſſumes the concluſion at the outſet; and of his other great maxim, 'That whatever is clearly perceived and underſtood, muſt be true;' which is confuted not only by the caſes of madneſs and dreaming, but by the example of every diſpute in which two men ſincerely advance contradictory poſitions. He objects too, with reaſon, to this philoſopher's diviſion and catalogue of ſubſtances; and concludes with the following paſſage, which ſeems to us to contain the reſult of his own meditations upon thoſe intricate ſubjects.

'We are not ſatisfied with ſpeaking of the objects of our perception —of what we feel and underſtand. We ſeek to attach ideas to mere abſtractions, and to give being to pure denominations. The dreams of our imaginations become the ſtandards of our faith. Eſſences, which cannot be defined; ſubſtances, which cannot be conceived; powers, which have never been comprehended; and cauſes, which operate, we know not how; are ſounds familiar to the language of error. Accuſtomed to hear them from our infancy, we ſeldom inquire into their meaning. Our early aſſociations form the code of our reaſon. We forget our firſt impreſſions; nor recollect how ſimple are the elements of all our knowledge. Deluded by his own mind, man continues to wander in the mazes of the labyrinth, which lies before him, unſuſpicious of his deviations from the truth. Like ſome knight of romance in an enchanted palace, he miſtakes the fictitious for the real, and the falſe for the true. He is dazzled by the effulgence of the meteor, and thinks he ſees by the light of the ſun. The priſoner, who dreams in his dungeon, imagines himſelf walking abroad in the fields, or in the ſtreets. He enjoys the ſweets of fancied liberty. See, how gladly he inhales the freſh air of the morning, or embraces the friends whom he loves. He ſuſpects not, that the world, which he has reviſited, exiſts only in himſelf; and that he muſt ſhortly awake to the conviction of his error—to

ſolitude, captivity, and ſorrow. Is there no being who reſembles this dreamer? Is there not one who perceives his own ideas, and calls them external objects; who thinks he diſtinguiſhes the truth, and who ſees it not; who graſps at ſhadows, and who follows phantoms; who paſſes from the cradle to the tomb, the dupe, and often the victim, of the illuſions which he himſelf has created?' p. 166–7.

From Des-Cartes Mr Drummond paſſes to Lord Bacon, and in animadverting on his diſtinction of ſouls into rational and irrational, takes occaſion to obſerve, that, in moſt of the ancient ſyſtems, 'mind was rather ſought for and deſcribed as *that which produces motion*, than as that which perceives and underſtands.' He then objects to the diſtribution of mind into ſeveral diſtinct powers or faculties, and obſerves,

'In attributing powers to the mind, it would be well to conſider what we mean by the mind; and, before we aſſert that this acts by its powers upon ideas, we ought to know how it can be diſtinguiſhed from its ideas, and how our ſouls can be ſhown to be different from our thoughts and feelings. It is yet more embarraſſing to conceive, what is meant by the action of powers upon ideas. Bodies are ſaid to impinge, and to impel each other—to tranſmit powers, and to communicate motion; but when this mode of reaſoning is applied to our intellectual nature, a a very little reflection may ſuffice to convince us, that the analogy is altogether inadmiſſible.' p. 180–1.

In a ſhort appendix to this chapter, we are preſented with ſome ſtriking obſervations on our ſuppoſed idea of power, and on the celebrated queſtion of liberty and neceſſity.

The Third chapter contains an eloquent expoſition of the materialiſm which may be founded on the *vis inſita*, the *vis inertiæ*, the neceſſary reaction of bodies, and other ground-works of the Newtonian philoſophy. If we admit the neceſſity of a firſt cauſe, however, it appears to us that there is nothing very formidable in theſe objections.

The Fourth chapter exhibits a copious and very learned view of the ſyſtem of Spinoza, in the form of a dialogue between an abettor of Naturaliſm and a zealous but precipitate Deiſt. The infidel diſplays great learning, acuteneſs, and eloquence; but his materialiſm appears to us to be extremely weak and inconſequent: nor can we readily conceive how Mr Drummond, whoſe own opinions ſeem to tend ſo ſtrongly to the oppoſite extreme of idealiſm, ſhould have thought it worth while to exhibit it at ſo great length, and with ſuch advantages of diction. As a ſpecimen of learned ſophiſtry and impoſing argumentation, the ſpeech of Hylus, however, is deſerving of peculiar attention.

The next chapter treats of thoſe theories in general, which account for the phenomena of perception, &c. by the imaginary action

action of the animal ſpirits, or other material *intermedia.* The abſurdity of theſe ſuppoſitions is expoſed with great force and vivacity. After tracing the ſeries of imaginary actions from the muſcles back to the fountains of animal ſpirits in the brain, the author very maliciouſly aſks, 'But what puts the animal ſpirits in motion? If it be anſwered, that this is done by volition; it may again be aſked, why volition, which does ſo much, ſhould not be permitted to do all?' This, we think, is no leſs concluſive than the following obſervation.

'But allowing to the diſciples of Hippocrates, that the animal ſpirits are really ſecreted from the blood; it yet remains to be ſhown, how the intercourſe between mind and matter is better underſtood by the help of the ſyſtem which I have been examining. The difference is ſtill infinite between that which is neither ſolid nor extended, which has no form, and which has no reference to place, and that, which is predicated to be both ſolid and extended, which has form, and which has reference to place. We may imagine matter as much refined from matter as we will, and we may fatigue fancy in deſcribing its tenuity; but we ſhall find it under all its forms equally incapable of thought and intelligence. To ſuppoſe mental perception to be the reſult of material mechaniſm, is, indeed, a bungling artifice of ſhallow philoſophy. There is no reſemblance between an idea, and any thing which may belong to body; between active intellect, and inert matter; between the mind which thinks, and the organ which is ſaid to receive and to convey ſenſation.' p. 287.

This reaſoning is concluſive againſt Hartley's hypothetical ſyſtem of vibrations, which is diſſected in the enſuing chapter. Mr Drummond takes his leave of it in theſe words.

'Is it poſſible, then, to avoid ſmiling, when we read the hiſtory of vibrations, and the genealogy of ideas, as they are ſtated in the ſolemn and poſitive language of Hartley? It is pleaſant to be told, in the conciſe ſtyle of Euclid, that natural vibrations are begotten by certain full-blooded arteries upon the medullary ſubſtance; that external objects alſo impreſs this ſame ſuſceptible ſubſtance, and are the fathers of præternatural vibrations; that a commerce enſues between natural and præternatural vibrations, whence ſprings a numerous progeny of vibratiuncles; and, finally, that ideas and ſenſations are generated by natural and præternatural vibrations—by vibratiuncles and pulſations—by parents and by children, mingled together in a ſtate of general, inceſtuous, and unnatural libidinage.' p. 294.

The Seventh chapter directs the ſame reaſoning, and the ſame ridicule, againſt the ſyſtem of Tucker. We have nothing to urge in defence of it; but we cannot ſo readily acquieſce in the cenſure which is paſſed upon the ſtyle of this writer, or the invective in which the author indulges, againſt his familiar, but moſt apt and ingenious illuſtrations. In didactic compoſition, perſpi-

cuity is every thing; and that ſimile is always the beſt, which moſt forcibly arreſts the attention, and moſt clearly refers to the ſubject of compariſon. In illuſtration of this cenſure upon the compariſons of Tucker, Mr Drummond is led, however, to preſent us with a variety of remarks upon rhetoric, in which he endeavours to define the true character of philoſophical eloquence; and is ſomewhat florid in his condemnation of ambitious ornament, and idle declamation. He concludes this curious and entertaining digreſſion, with ſome critical remarks on the ſtyle of the moſt eminent philoſophical writers, ancient and modern. Of the ſpirit with which this review is executed, our readers may judge from the following ſpecimen.

'Second only to Plato in magnificence of diction, ſurpaſſing him, perhaps, in perſpicuity, variety, and harmony, Cicero has adorned and illuſtrated philoſophy with all the ſplendour of the brighteſt eloquence. The road which he took muſt, at firſt, have appeared to many to be rugged and difficult, for it had then been explored by few of his countrymen; but he ſhowed ſo many various proſpects, pointed out ſuch intereſting objects, and converſed all the while with ſo much ſpirit, elegance and urbanity, that labour forgot its fatigues, and prejudice its alarms; nor can it be doubted but that the taſte for learning, which diſtinguiſhed his age, was owing, in a conſiderable degree, to the influence and the example of Tully. It is pleaſing to be inſtructed in the wiſdom of Greece by the greateſt orator of Rome. It is conſoling to the ſolitary metaphyſician of the preſent day, when he recollects, that his favourite ſtudies, which have been falling into diſrepute ever ſince Engliſh literature has been in its wane, were aſſiduouſly cultivated in the moſt brilliant æras of human grandeur, by the ſages and the heroes of Greece, by the chiefs of the Roman commonwealth, by warriors who ſubdued, and by ſtateſmen who governed, the world.' p. 318-19.

The next chapter is occupied with the *monads*—the *preeſtabliſhed harmony*—and the *ſufficient reaſon* of Leibnitz. In the introduction to his remarks on this writer, Mr Drummond has preſented his reader with a learned abſtract of all the *atomical* philoſophy of the ancients, and a curious deduction of this doctrine, down to the accompliſhed monads of the German philoſopher. His ſyſtem we think is radically abſurd in all its parts. Of the monads, it is enough, perhaps, to obſerve, with Mr Drummond, that 'if there be no extended parts of matter, there can be no ſuch thing as body; the repetition of that which is unextended, can never produce any thing extended.' The preeſtabliſhed harmony is a wild chimera; and the ſufficient reaſon is nothing elſe but fate or neceſſity, under a new appellation.

The Ninth chapter is dedicated to the philoſophy of Kant, whom our author treats with little ceremony or reſpect; and, in truth, his arrogance and obſcurity do not entitle him to much conſideration.

conſideration. We have expreſſed our opinion of this tranſcendental ſyſtem, at great length in a former article.

The laſt chapter undertakes nothing leſs than a defence of the theory of Ideas, againſt the arguments of Dr Reid. This is a bold attempt, but, we are inclined to think, not a ſucceſsful one. Mr Drummond begins with the old axiom, that nothing can act but where it is; and infers, that as real material objects cannot penetrate to the ſeat of the ſoul, that ſentient principle can only perceive certain images or ideas of them, againſt the admiſſion of which he conceives there can be no conſiderable obſtacle. Now, it is needleſs, we think, to inveſtigate the legitimacy of this reaſoning very narrowly, becauſe the foundation, we are perſuaded, is unſound. The axiom, we believe, is now admitted to be fallacious by moſt of thoſe who have paid any attention to the ſubject. But what does Mr Drummond underſtand exactly by *ideas*? Does he mean certain films, ſhadows, or *ſimulacra*, proceeding from real external exiſtences, and paſſing through real external organs to the local habitation of the ſoul? If he means this, then he admits the exiſtence of a material world, as clearly as Dr Reid does, and ſubjects himſelf to all the ridicule and the cenſure which he has himſelf ſo juſtly beſtowed upon the hypotheſis of animal ſpirits, or any other ſuppoſition, which explains the intercourſe between mind and matter, by imagining ſome matter, of ſo fine a nature, as almoſt to graduate into mind. If, on the other hand, by ideas, Mr Drummond really means nothing but ſenſations and perceptions (as we have already explained that word), it is quite obvious that Dr Reid has never called their exiſtence in queſtion; and the whole debate is merely about the preſumptions for the exiſtence of an external world, or the reaſonableneſs of truſting to an indeſtructible belief for the exiſtence of certain external cauſes of theſe ſenſations. We cannot help doubting, whether Mr Drummond has clearly ſtated to himſelf, in which of theſe two ſenſes he propoſes to defend the doctrine of ideas. The doctrine of images is the only one, in behalf of which he can claim the ſupport of the ancient philoſophers; and it is to it he ſeems to allude, in ſeveral of the remarks which he makes on the illuſions of ſight. On the other ſuppoſition, however, he has no occaſion to diſpute with Dr Reid about the exiſtence of ideas; for the Doctor aſſuredly did not deny that we had ſenſations and perceptions, notions, recollections, and all the other affections of mind to which the word idea may be applied, in the other ſenſe of it. There can be no queſtion here, but about the *origin* of theſe ideas; which belongs to another chapter.

Mr Drummond ſeems to lay the whole ſtreſs of his argument upon a poſition of Hume's, which he applies himſelf to vindicate

from the objections which Dr Reid has urged againſt it. 'The table which I ſee,' ſays Mr Hume, 'diminiſhes as I remove from it; but the real table ſuffers no alteration:—it was nothing but its image, therefore, which was preſent to the mind.' Now this ſtatement, we think, admits pretty explicitly, that there is a real table, the image of which is preſented to the mind: but, at all events, we conceive that the phenomenon may be eaſily reconciled with the ſuppoſition of its real exiſtence. Dr Reid's error, if there be one, ſeems to conſiſt in his having aſſerted poſitively, and without any qualification, that it is the real table which we perceive when our eyes are turned towards it. When the matter is conſidered very ſtrictly, it will be found, perhaps, that by the ſenſe of ſeeing we can perceive nothing but *light*, variouſly arranged and diverſified; and that, when we look at the table, we ſee nothing, in fact, but the rays of light which are reflected from it to the eye. Independently of the cooperation of our other ſenſes, it ſeems generally to be admitted, that we ſhould perceive nothing by ſeeing but an aſſemblage of colours, divided by different lines; and our only viſual notion of the table would, therefore, be that of a definite portion of light, diſtinguiſhed by its colour, from the other portions that were perceived at the ſame time. It ſeems equally impoſſible to diſpute, however, that we ſhould receive from this impreſſion the belief and conception of an external exiſtence, and that we ſhould have the very ſame evidence for its reality, as for that of the objects of our other ſenſes. But if the external exiſtence of light be admitted, a very ſlight attention to its laws and properties, will ſhew how its appearances muſt vary, according to our diſtance from the objects which emit it. We perceive the form of bodies by ſight, in ſhort, very nearly as a blind man perceives them, by tracing their extremities with his ſtick; it is only the light in one caſe, and the ſtick in the other, that is properly felt or perceived; but the real form of the object is indicated, in both caſes, by the ſtate and diſpoſition of the medium which connects it with our ſenſations. It is by the ſenſe of touch, no doubt, that we diſcover that the rays of light which ſtrike our eyes with the impreſſions of form and colour, proceed from diſtant objects, which are ſolid and extended in three dimenſions; and it is only by recollecting what we have learned from this ſenſe, that we are enabled to conceive them as endued with theſe qualities. By the eye we do not perceive theſe qualities; nor, in ſtrictneſs of ſpeech, do we perceive, by this ſenſe, any qualities whatever of the object; we perceive merely the light which it reflects, diſtinguiſhed by its colour from the other light that falls on the eye along with it, and aſſuming a new form and extenſion, according as the diſtance

tance or poſition of the body is varied in regard to us. Theſe variations are clearly explained by the known properties of light, as aſcertained by experiment, and evidently afford no ground for ſuppoſing any alteration in the object which emits it, or for throwing any doubts upon the real exiſtence of ſuch an object. Becauſe the divergence of the rays of light varies with the diſtance between their origin and the eye, is there the ſlighteſt reaſon for pretending, that the magnitude of the object from which they proceed muſt be held to have varied alſo?

Mr Drummond concludes the volume with ſome general remarks on the obſtacles which all abſtract and refined philoſophy muſt expect to meet with, from vulgar prejudices, and the imperfections of ordinary language. The obſtacles are certainly real: but they will be leaſt felt we believe by the ſoundeſt philoſophers.

Upon the whole, the author of 'Academical Queſtions' is indubitably a perſon of great reading, and much natural acuteneſs: but he has taken too wide a range, we think, in his ſpeculations, and indulged ſomewhat too much in a vein of controverſial declamation. He often ſeems to think more of demoliſhing his antagoniſt, than of enlightening his reader; and ſometimes appears to enlarge upon a topic, as much for the diſplay of his eloquence, as for the ſupport of his reaſoning. By frequent reference to the Greek writers, and continual alluſions to the uſages of antiquity, he expected perhaps to ſeduce the ſcholars of the South into metaphyſical inveſtigations, and to engage the attention of polite readers, by a certain vivacity and poliſh in the turn of his expreſſion. If this was his view, however, he certainly ought not to have plunged at firſt into the great gulph of ſubſtance and entity. At all events, it is proper that he ſhould ſettle his creed with the initiated votaries of the ſcience, before he exert himſelf to make converts among the multitude; and as we hope that the addition which this volume muſt have made to his literary reputation, will tempt him to go on with his reſearches, we would exhort him to meditate his ſubject without reference to books; and to think leſs of the ſtyle in which he is to promulgate his diſcoveries.

ART. XIII. *Obſervations on the Preſent State of the Highlands of Scotland; with a View of the Cauſes and probable Conſequences of Emigration.* By the Earl of Selkirk. Longman & Co. London. And Conſtable & Co. Edinburgh. 8vo. pp. 224. App. pp. lvi.

IN one of the articles of our Firſt Number, we expreſſed a wiſh that ſome writer would afford us a proper opportunity of laying

laying before our readers the true hiſtory of the emigrations from the Highlands, as connected with the improvements of landed property, and of explaining, at the ſame time, the policy which an enlightened government ſhould purſue with reſpect to ſuch emigrations. Our wiſh is gratified to its full extent by this publication, in which Lord Selkirk has undertaken both theſe ſubjects, and executed them in a manner ſo entirely agreeable to the views which we have always entertained, that we never could have accompliſhed our original deſign nearly ſo well, as we ſhall now do, by extracting the ſubſtance of the preſent work.

Beſides an accurate deſcription of the nature and cauſes of the emigration, and a juſt explanation of the principles which ought to guide the opinion of Government, there is another portion of the book, which will be thought by many of our readers more entertaining than even the general diſquiſitions;—an account of the colony of Highland Emigrants, founded by Lord Selkirk on Prince Edward's Iſland, near the coaſt of Nova Scotia. The circumſtances are very pleaſing, to which he aſſigns the origin of this expedition, and the compoſition of his book. Without any local connexion with the Highlands, he was led, very early in life, to take a warm intereſt in the fate of his countrymen in that part of the kingdom. During the courſe of his academical ſtudies, his curioſity was ſtrongly excited by the repreſentations he heard of the ancient ſtate of ſociety, and the ſtriking peculiarity of manners ſtill remaining among them; and, in the year 1792, he undertook an extenſive tour through their wild region, and explored many of its remoteſt and moſt ſecluded vallies. In the courſe of this expedition, he aſcertained ſeveral of the leading facts on which the reaſonings of his work are founded; in particular, that emigration was an unavoidable reſult of the general ſtate of the country, ariſing from cauſes above all controul, and in itſelf eſſential to the tranquillity and permanent welfare of the kingdom. In conſequence of this perſuaſion, that there was no reaſonable hope of preventing emigration, he was led to direct his inquiries to the deſtination of the various emigrants. He learned, that the Highlanders were diſperſing to a variety of ſituations in a foreign land, where they were loſt, not only to their native country, but to themſelves as a ſeparate people. Admiring many generous and manly features in their character, he could not obſerve, without regret, the rapid decline of their genuine manners, to which the circumſtances of the country ſeemed inevitably to lead. He thought, however, that a portion of the ancient ſpirit might be preſerved, even in the New World, by collecting the emigrants together in ſome part of our own colonies; there they would prove a benefit to the mother country; and

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those peculiarities, of customs and language, might still be retained, which they are themselves so reluctant to give up, and which are perhaps intimately connected with many of their most striking and characteristic virtues. We shall mention, in the sequel of our abstract, the measures which Lord Selkirk took to carry these benevolent motives into effect: his present publication has grown out of the statements, which he submitted to the Colonial Department of Government, in explanation of his views.

It is a book which will by no means perish with the local prejudices which it was designed to remove. It has other claims to a permanent reputation and utility. Not only will it preserve a better picture, than has been drawn by any other hand, of a peculiar state of society and manners, highly interesting to the historian; but it forms a large contribution, to the theory of political economy, of most satisfactory deductions and general conclusions. It would be no slight service of itself, however, to extinguish ignorant declamations against the emigrants, and to correct that mistaken spirit of regulation which professes to force comforts upon them against their wish: and we have seldom read any composition so well qualified to gain over the public mind from error, both by the perspicuous extent of its evidence and reasonings, and by the candid, unassuming, and very practical tone in which they are proposed. We hasten, therefore, to draw out an analysis of its principal contents for the instruction of our readers; and shall content ourselves with remarking, once for all, that Lord Selkirk's arrangement, and style of language, are so clear, and the latter so suitable in every respect to the subject, that we shall seldom deviate from either, except when we are anxious to be more concise than it would be proper for him to have been.

I. Not more than sixty years ago, the state of society in the Highlands of Scotland was very similar to that of England before the Norman conquest. Government had not yet extended its regular authority over these mountains, where the chieftains lived in a barbarous independence, surrounded by vassals and retainers. The law was too feeble to afford protection, amidst the violence of feudal warfare and plunder; and every proprietor of land depended, for his safety and his consequence, on a numerous train of followers. To this consideration, every advantage of pecuniary interest was inferior; he reckoned the value of his estate, not by the rent, but by the number of men it could send into the field: the rent, in fact, was paid, not in money, but in military services. The small rental of the estates forfeited in the two rebellions of the last century has, accordingly, been often remarked with surprise; 'Poor twelve thousand

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per annum' (ſays Pennant) 'nearly ſubverted the conſtitution of theſe kingdoms:' but, with this narrow income, proprietors of middling rank brought into the field three, four, or five hundred men. Were the preſent high rents of the ſame eſtates to be all laid out in employing labourers, the number of theſe would not be very different from that of the clans that came from them in arms. There are various documents ſtill extant, which aſcertain the number of men that particular chiefs could bring out; and, on comparing them with the preſent value of their eſtates, the proportion appears to be, in general, between ten and fifteen pounds for every man: This ſum is not far from the yearly expence of a farm ſervant, at the rate now current in the North of Scotland.

In this ſtate of things, a ſyſtem of occupancy was ſpread over the Highlands, which, though now diſappearing, remained entire for ſome time after the laſt rebellion, and may ſtill be found in many conſiderable diſtricts. Every proprietor reduced his farms into as ſmall portions as poſſible; and his deſign was ſeconded by the natural inclinations of his people. The ſtate of the country left a father no means of providing for his ſons, but by dividing his farm; and where two families could be placed upon the land inſtead of one, the chief acquired a new tenant and a new ſoldier. Hence every ſpot was occupied by as many families as its produce could maintain; and the ground was ſubdivided into very ſmall poſſeſſions. The farms of the common tenantry, or *ſmall tenants*, are held (we may ſtill ſpeak in the preſent tenſe) by joint occupiers, uſually ſix or eight, ſometimes many more, and form a ſort of hamlets or petty townſhips; called, in the low country dialect, *touns*; and, in the Gaelic language, *bailé*. The ſhares of theſe partners are of courſe liable to become unequal, by ſubdiviſion or accumulation. The farm is generally a portion of a valley, to which is annexed a tract of mountain paſture, ſtretching ſome miles. The habitations are collected in a village, upon the beſt part of the arable land. This is ſometimes cultivated in common, but more uſually diſtributed among the tenants, in proportion to their ſhares; ſeldom, however, in a permanent manner, but from year to year. The produce of the tillage land rarely affords a ſuperfluity above the maintenance of the tenants and their families. Their riches conſiſt of cattle, chiefly breeding cows, and the young ſtock produced from them, which are maintained on the farm till of a proper age for the market; and, by the ſale of theſe, the tenants are enabled to pay their rent. The number which each farm or *toun* is capable of maintaining, is aſcertained by uſage, and may be, in general, from 30 to 80 cows, beſides other cattle. The total amount is divided among the occupiers, according to their reſpective

reſpective ſhares, no one being allowed to keep more than his regulated proportion. Beſides theſe joint occupiers, there are *tackſmen* holding entire farms, who are of the rank of gentry, and trace their origin to ſome ancient proprietor of the eſtate, who had granted the farm as a proviſion for one of the younger branches of his family. Theſe, formerly, were nearly upon the ſame footing as proprietors; they were the officers who, under the chief, commanded in the military expeditions of the clan. A part of their farm is ſufficient to ſupply their own families; and they divide the reſt among a number of ſubtenants or *cotters*, who are bound to perform a certain quantity of labour upon the farm, inſtead of paying rent for their ſmall portion of land, and are allowed to paſture their cows along with the cattle of the farm. Cotters are to be found, likewiſe, upon the farms of the ſmall tenants; two or three being generally employed, as ſervants to the partnerſhip, for herding the cattle. There are alſo a few people who exerciſe the trades of blackſmiths, weavers, taylors, ſhoemakers, &c. and bargain with one or other of the tenants for a portion of his land. For, whatever additional employment a man may follow, he muſt always occupy a ſmall ſpot of land, to raiſe proviſions for himſelf and his family; if he cannot procure ſuch a poſſeſſion, he cannot live in the country. There is no ſuch perſon known in the Highlands, as an independent labourer.

Such a ſtate of property and manners, where every inhabitant is connected with land, where almoſt all its produce is conſumed upon the ſpot, and where there is no diſtinct ſeparation of employments, has been preſerved nearly entire to this day. While the other diſtricts of the iſland were brought, one after another, within the arrangement of one complex ſyſtem of production and commerce, the Highlands were cut off from all the contagion of induſtrious enterprize, by the ſame rocky barrier which detached them from the juriſdiction of juſtice and law. Thoſe barriers were at length broken down, by the meaſures which were adopted after the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion in 1745: the country was diſarmed; it was interſected by military roads; a force, ſufficient to command it, was ſtationed at all the principal paſſes; and thus the authority of regular goverment was completely eſtabliſhed. The chiefs ceaſed to be petty monarchs; the ſervices of their followers were no longer requiſite for defence, or uſeful in plunder; and when thus reduced to the ſame ſituation with proprietors in other parts of the kingdom, they ſoon diſcovered that their rents were far below the real value of their lands. The influence of old habits, of feudal vanity, and of attachment to their vaſſals, long prevailed over the proſpect of pecuniary profit; but the more neceſſitous or leſs generous ſet the example;

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a generation has ſucceeded, educated under other circumſtances; and the Highland proprietors have now no more ſcruple, than thoſe of any other part of the kingdom, in turning their eſtates to the beſt advantage. Had theſe eſtates been ſuſceptible of cultivation, under a favourable climate, the proprietors would have found it their intereſt to clear them of the ſuperfluous population, and to throw their multiplicity of ſmall farms together into the hands of one or two farmers of capital and ſkill; agreeably to the remark of Dr Adam Smith, 'that the diminution of cottagers, and other ſmall occupiers of land, has, in every part of Europe, been the immediate forerunner of improvement and better cultivation.' But the climate of the Highlands is adverſe to the production of grain; and that mountainous region contains few mines that can attract knots of population, and is entirely deſtitute of coals, which might have encouraged the ſettlement of manufactures. In ſuch a diſtrict, the moſt profitable employment of land is univerſally found to be the rearing of young cattle and ſheep, which, at a proper age, are bought by farmers in more fertile countries, and fattened for the butcher. A few tracts in the north are adapted for the paſturing of black cattle; but ſheep-farming muſt prevail over the range of mountains. The rapid and continual progreſs which this ſyſtem is making, the great profits that have been reaped, and the increaſed rate of rents, ſufficiently prove how well it is adapted to the natural circumſtances of the Highlands. The few ſpots among the mountains that are ſuſceptible of cultivation, are found to be more advantageouſly kept in graſs, to afford a reſerve of paſture and ſhelter to the flocks during the extreme rigour of winter. A few adventurous individuals, who had been accuſtomed to ſheep-farming in the ſouth of Scotland, ſaw the vaſt field which was opened in the Highlands to their capital and enterprize. The large profits, which ſoon rewarded their penetration and perſeverance, as in the caſe of all thoſe who introduce new and ſucceſsful modes of agriculture, ſoon attracted others, and demonſtrated to the proprietors themſelves the benefits they might earn under this moſt ſuitable plan of management.

Such a revolution, however, in the ſyſtem of landed property, muſt be accompanied by an entire change in the diſtribution of the inhabitants. The population muſt be caſt into a new form. The claſs of ſmall tenants will gradually diſappear; the diſtinction will at length be marked out, between the ſtation of farmer and that of labourer; and as many of the cotters as can remain in the country, will gradually fall into the various fixed employments that are neceſſary in the buſineſs of an extended farm. But the whole population on each farm will ultimately be reduced

duced to the number of families that are abſolutely required for this neceſſary buſineſs. A few ſhepherds, with their dogs, will be ſufficient for all the work of many an extenſive range. The produce will no longer be conſumed wholly upon the ſpot, in affording a ſcanty ſubſiſtence to an indolent contented tribe; but will ſupply, at a diſtance, the waſteful luxury of induſtrious crowds.

During the operation of this change, and the temporary derangement it occaſions, much individual diſtreſs will unavoidably be ſuffered. A great part of the inhabitants muſt, in one way or another, ſeek for means of livelihood totally different from thoſe on which they have hitherto depended. But the country affords no means of living, without a poſſeſſion of land: they muſt look for reſources, therefore, where there is a proſpect of employment, and muſt bring their mind to the reſolution of removing at leaſt from their native ſpot. Two proſpects preſent themſelves. In the Low Country of Scotland, the wages of manufacturing labour; in America, the eaſy acquiſition of land in abſolute property. Of theſe alternatives, it is eaſy to perceive which will beſt ſuit the inclination and habits of the Highlanders. Each of theſe two changes would exact very nearly the ſame effort over the natural affections of the mind; but the execution of the latter plan muſt be attended with more expence than the other. It will be practicable, therefore, to thoſe only who can afford this expence. The claſs of cotters may be diſtinguiſhed, in this reſpect, from that of ſmall tenants: though the line is not always exactly defined, ſome very opulent cotters being as well provided as the loweſt of the tenants, yet there is a great difference, generally ſpeaking, in the amount of their reſpective property, and conſequently in the views which they entertain after being diſpoſſeſſed of their land. The cotters have ſeldom property enough for the neceſſary expences of emigration, and few of them have ever been able to emigrate: they have, in general, removed into the manufacturing diſtricts of the Low Country of Scotland. But the population of the Highlands was compoſed, in a very large proportion, of the ſmall tenants; and all of theſe are poſſeſſed of ſomething that might be denominated capital. Moſt of them live much more wretchedly, as to habitation and diet, than the labourers who earn daily wages in other parts of the iſland; but they have property of greater value. A farmer of about thirty acres of arable land has perhaps property to the amount of about one hundred and ſixteen pounds ſterling, while the annual conſumption of proviſions for his family and ſervants does not exceed fifteen pounds. In general, the ſmall tenant, according to his ſhare of the farm, has from three or four, to ſix or eight cows, with

with the proportionate number of young cattle; he has horſes alſo, a few ſmall ſheep, implements of agriculture, and various houſehould articles. By diſpoſing of all this ſtock, eſpecially if the price of cattle happens to be high, he is enabled to embark in undertakings which cannot be thought of by the cotter, and which are not within the reach of the peaſantry, even in the more improved and richer parts of the iſland.

To thoſe who can thus afford the expences of the paſſage and firſt ſettlement, the low price of land in America preſents the proſpect of ſpeedily attaining a ſituation and mode of life ſimilar to that in which all their habits have been formed. Accuſtomed to poſſeſs land, to derive from it all the comforts they enjoy, to tranſmit their poſſeſſions from father to ſon, and to cheriſh all the prejudices of hereditary tranſmiſſion, they moſt naturally conſider themſelves as born to a landed rank, and can form no idea of happineſs ſeparate from ſuch a poſſeſſion. Contraſted with ſuch a ſituation, that of a day-labourer in a manufacturing town appears contemptible and degrading. It would be a painful change, alſo, to the practice of ſedentary continued labour, from that life of irregular exertions, and long intervals of indolence, in which the Highlander enjoys almoſt the freedom of a ſavage. It is but a temporary effort that is demanded of him, to carry his family acroſs the Atlantic; and whether he prefers this, or emigrates down into the Low Country of Scotland, he is forced to a change; his habits are broken; he muſt form himſelf to a new mode of life. Whether he ſhall enter upon one to which all his feelings are repugnant, or, by a better exertion of courage, economy, and foreſight, regain a prouder and more ſecure independence, is an alternative in which his choice will aſſuredly be determined by his ability. By their ability or inability to afford the expences of their paſſage to America, the choice of the Highlanders, with a very few exceptions, has been entirely regulated. Even among thoſe whoſe poverty forced them to go at firſt into the manufacturing towns, ſome of the moſt remarkable exertions of induſtry have been prompted, only by the deſire of accumulating as much money as might enable them to join their friends beyond the Atlantic.

Thus it appears, that in the ſubverſion of the feudal economy, and the gradual extenſion of the commercial ſyſtem over that quarter of the iſland, emigration forms a neceſſary part of the general change. The race of cotters, after filling up the demand for menial labour that is ſtill required under the new arrangement, are withdrawn into the manufacturing diſtricts. A few of the ſmall tenants, who, with ſome amount of capital, combine induſtry and good management, take a part in this new ſyſtem, and

and grow up into farmers on a greater ſcale; but the reſt of this claſs will be gradually and entirely drained off by emigration. And, in this manner, the commercial form of property and population will at length be fully eſtabliſhed over the Highlands; and the peaſantry placed in that relative ſtation, which is beſt adapted to the purpoſes of national wealth. Emigration, it muſt always be recollected, is one of the reſults or neceſſary conditions of this change, and which cannot be abſtracted from its other concomitant effects.

There is ſome reaſon to believe, that, while the emigrations operate this neceſſary change in the character and compoſition of the population, they do not ultimately reduce the numbers, even in the Highlands. A place, for example, has been pointed out upon the weſt coaſt by Mr Irvine, which, in 1790, contained 1900 inhabitants, of whom 500 emigrated the ſame year to America; in 1801, the ſame ſpot contained 1967, though it had furniſhed 87 men for the army and navy, and not a ſingle ſtranger had ſettled in it. There is no part of the Highlands where the people have ſo ſtrong a ſpirit of emigration as in Long Iſland; yet a population of 5268, at the time of Dr Webſter's ſurvey in the year 1755, was found increaſed to 8308, at the time of Sir John Sinclair's ſurvey in 1792. Emigrations from the Iſle of Sky to North Carolina, have continued to a great amount ſince the year 1770; to the amount of 4000, it has been computed, prior to the year 1791, beſides an equal number that has come into the low country: in 1755, this iſland contained 11,252 inhabitants; and in 1792, it contained 14,470. That emigration does not neceſſarily imply a permanent diminution of local numbers, but, on the contrary, may leave reſources for a larger increaſe of a different ſort of inhabitants, will be admitted by all thoſe who have examined the theory of population.

Even if the depopulation of the Highlands were proved, we ought to judge of the whole effect, by taking the whole kingdom into view. The produce raiſed upon the mountains under the grazing ſyſtem, is aſſuredly not leſs than it was formerly, though it is not conſumed upon the ſpot. There cannot be a doubt, indeed, that it is greatly augmented under the improved management. The diminution of tillage muſt be deducted from the whole increaſe of paſturage produce; but the tillage that is retained is of a much ſuperior kind; and the introduction of paſture and the breeding ſyſtem upon the mountains, will leave free for an extended tillage thoſe arable plains of the ſouth which have been hitherto kept in graſs for that purpoſe. The various climates, and all the different levels of the iſland, are

thus formed into one connected plan of rural economy, diſtributing its produce through the whole family of the people.

Among the ſuppoſed effects of emigration, none has been more univerſally lamented than the loſs of that valuable ſupply of ſoldiers which the public ſervice has hitherto derived from the Highlands. But, independently altogether of emigration, the circumſtances no longer exiſt which rendered the Highlands ſuch a nurſery of ſoldiers. Wherever the ſyſtem of numerous dependants and very low rents was ſtill adhered to, the chieftain had a double hold of the ſervices of his tenantry, by their affections to the clan, and by his power of diſpoſſeſſing them of their farms. The beſt of his tenantry were therefore the firſt to bring forward their ſons, when the landlord undertook to raiſe men for the army. A body of men, ſo compoſed, was undoubtedly much ſuperior to a regiment recruited in the ordinary manner; both by the hardihood of the breed, and much more by the feudal feelings of reverence for their officers, pride in their clan, and attachment to each other. But as ſoon as the feudal ſtate of the country was ſupplanted by another ſyſtem, theſe peculiarities vaniſhed. The low rent of land was the whole foundation upon which they reſted. When the chieftain exacts its full value, the relation between him and his tenants is the ſame as that of a landlord in any other part of the kingdom. The Highland regiments, accordingly, have been approaching, in their compoſition and character, to a ſimilarity with the other regiments in the ſervice, ever ſince the advance of rents began to be conſiderable. We muſt go back to the Seven-Years war to find thoſe regiments in their original purity, formed entirely on the feudal principle, and raiſed in the manner that has been deſcribed. Even as early as the American war, ſome tendency towards a different ſyſtem was obſerveable; and, during the late war, many regiments were Highland in little elſe than in name. Some corps were compoſed nearly in the ancient manner; but there were others, in which few of the men had any connexion whatever with the eſtates of their officers, being recruited, in the ordinary manner, at Glaſgow and other manufacturing places, and conſiſting of all deſcriptions of men, Lowlanders and Iriſh, as well as Highlanders. There is no point, indeed, from which we can ſee ſo diſtinctly the change that has taken place in the whole ſyſtem of the Highlands, as from this view of the hiſtory of the Highland regiments.

II. To ſuch as have formed a correct apprehenſion of the nature of this eſſential change, and of the character and circumſtances of the tenantry that have been diſpoſſeſſed of their lands, all projects will appear unavailing to avert their emigration,

tion, and all direct reſtrictions upon it by law, no better than violent injuſtice. Their removal from the country is a temporary loſs, unqueſtionably, to the public, but one which accompanies the progreſs of general opulence, the extended eſtabliſhment of protecting laws, and the conſequent amelioration of property and produce. Thoſe who are themſelves under no neceſſity of ſeeking another home, always look upon emigration itſelf as the evil that is mixed with theſe conſeſſed advantages; and they regard it as an evil, only becauſe they imagine that it may have conſequences that may poſſibly ſomehow or another impair their own perfect ſecurity and eaſe. They do not perceive that the real evil, occaſioned by theſe ſtarts in the general progreſs, when it ſuddenly takes a new courſe, is the diſturbance and diſpoſſeſſion of a claſs of citizens, quite as important and deſerving as themſelves; quite as deſirous, too, of enjoying unimpaired ſecurity and eaſe; but whoſe habits and attachments are ſwept away in a ſacrifice to the general wealth. Emigration is not the evil, but the remedy; the ſad, but ſingle reſource of thoſe by whom the real evil is ſuffered. It can never repair it to them, but inadequately; and it requires ſuch a conqueſt over the ſtrongeſt prejudices of the heart, that only the laſt neceſſity can inſpire ſufficient reſolution. The family of an hereditary farmer, which for ages has been faſtening innumerable roots into the ſpot on which it grew, may be torn up by force; but when caſt out from its native earth, will ſeek for ſome other ſoil that is moſt nearly congenial. The fate of ſuch will not be indifferent to the ſtateſman; but he will acknowledge that the ſufferers muſt find, in their individual prudence, an alleviation which his rules cannot adminiſter: while he feels for all his people, he will know the limits of his own beneficence; and while he eyes with exultation the ſpontaneous advancement of opulence and order, will forbear the ineffectual attempt to remove partial evils, or reconcile incompatible advantages.

In the caſe of the Highland emigrations, ſome ſchemes of alleviation have been propoſed, out of a feeble and miſtaken humanity, while nothing ſhort of direct reſtriction would have ſatisfied, in other perſons, a ſpirit of injuſtice which, in its ſelfiſhneſs, was equally miſtaken. Agreeably to what often happens in the hiſtory of legiſlation, the only ſcheme that has been put in practice was a compromiſe between the two, and ſeems to have been impoſed by this miſtaken ſelf-intereſt upon that feeble humanity.

The undertaking of great public works in the north, the cultivation of waſte lands, the encouragement of the fiſheries, and the introduction of manufactures, have been conſidered by many benevolent and public-ſpirited perſons as appropriate remedies and

preventives of emigration. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that not one of them is applicable to the circumſtances of thoſe who are inclined to emigrate and can afford it. The cultivation of waſte land, which might appear at firſt ſight rather a promiſing ſcheme, only appears ſo while we forget the ſoil and climate, and tenures of the Highlands; and the attempts of this kind that have been made by a few proprietors prove only, that, if conducted on a more judicious plan, it might retain, out of the claſs of poor cotters, a ſufficient number to ſupply the country fully with day-labourers, but could never be rendered acceptable to tenants even of the loweſt order. As to the expectations which have been entertained from the employment afforded by new public works, ſuch as the Caledonian Canal and the Highland roads and bridges, the appropriate utility of thoſe noble undertakings is ſufficient praiſe, without aſcribing effects to them for which they are quite inadequate. They may give a temporary relief to ſome of the peaſantry, by bringing employment a little nearer than when it was to be ſought in the low country of Scotland; but even the peaſant muſt quit his reſidence, though not quite ſo far, to procure this temporary employment: and the tenant, who has been deprived of his land, will ſtill have to aſk himſelf the ſame queſtion as before, whether he will remove into another part of the country to earn wages as a labourer, or into another country where he may become again a poſſeſſor of land. The ſame remark that has juſt been made with reſpect to the cultivation of waſte lands, may be extended to the fiſheries; they might, if freed from the obſtacles by which they are at preſent diſcouraged, afford employment to a conſiderable number of the poorer ſort of people. And it is an important reflection, that the general change in the management of the Highland eſtates, is likely to remove that connexion between fiſhing and the cultivation of land, which, in the opinion of the moſt competent judges, has been the greateſt impediment to the progreſs of the fiſheries upon the weſtern coaſt and iſles. The introduction of manufactures, if it were practicable, would obviouſly preſent no object of employment ſuitable to the diſplaced tenants; it is unneceſſary, therefore, to conſider, in this place, the circumſtances which appear to render their introduction into the Highlands wholly impracticable.

In all the foregoing ſchemes it is implied, that the diſpoſition to emigrate ariſes from unalterable cauſes, and that it muſt take its courſe in the mean while, though we may endeavour to deviſe meaſures that ſhall attract the diſplaced population into new channels of induſtry at home. They are dictated, all of them, by genuine motives of patriotiſm, but have not yet been contrived, nor are ever likely to be contrived in ſuch a form as to render them really

really applicable to the case. But, upon the subject of the Highland emigrations, we have sometimes been shocked by language which expresses a different spirit, and in a quarter where it is quite as inconsistent and senseless as it is unfeeling. They, however, who have bestowed a slight reflection on the inconsistencies to which men are liable when their interest is involved in a complicated subject, cannot be very much surprised in this instance to find some proprietors, who would willingly profit by the great advance of rents, and at the same time retain the facility of raising a regiment, who like to receive the income of a sheep-farm, to spend in the metroplis, and would still find the splendour of many feudal dependants in the country. These active and most useful depopulators, are sometimes found very indignant declaimers against emigration. From them, but much more from their factors, and from neighbours of an inferior order, who conceive themselves to have an interest in a crowded population, on account of the low wages for which they can then manufacture their kelp, and carry on a few petty branches of traffic, we have sometimes heard such a clamour, as if emigration were a new species of sedition, and it were the duty of the legislature to suppress it by new and absolute restrictions. Our legislature is too well informed to be misled into any injustice so violent and so absurd; and we assuredly despair of convincing those factors that it would be an absurdity and injustice.

Our legislature, however, is not yet so perfectly well informed as not to have been misled, in consequence of its humanity being imposed upon. During the administration of Mr Addington, an act was passed for regulating the transportation of the emigrants; and the professed object of these regulations was, to enforce a due care of the lives and health of the passengers, and to prevent an undue profit on the part of the owner of the vessel by crowding it too much. For this purpose, the statute enacts, that no ship shall carry a greater number of persons than in the proportion of one passenger for every two ton; and that every passenger shall be obliged to take $3\frac{1}{2}$lb. of beef or pork weekly, besides a large allowance of farinaceous food, and that they themselves shall not be at liberty to dispense with any part of this. This attention to the comforts of the emigrants is a little too active; the bill, it is to be observed, went to London from the Highland Society. In the first place, the allowance of room, which is required as absolutely necessary for the health of the passengers, is nearly double that of the transport service; for $1\frac{1}{2}$ ton, allotted for full grown men, is little more than half as much as two tons, allotted for passengers of all ages. The emigrants themselves, in the allowance of birth-room, usually observed a rule, which had been the result of expe-

rience, that their whole number, including infants, might be reckoned equivalent to two thirds of that number of grown perſons. Surely they might have been left to their own experience in this particular. But, in the ſecond place, the quantity of proviſions indiſpenſably forced upon them, is beyond all reaſonable proportion; the allowance of farinaceous food alone, exceeds the entire conſumption of country labourers in any part of Scotland; and ſo large an allowance of butcher's meat as 3½lb. for every paſſenger, even for infants at the breaſt, muſt appear ſtrange to thoſe who know that animal food is ſo rarely taſted in the Highlands by the lower order of tenantry, that, in the ſurvey publiſhed by the Board of Agriculture, it is ſtated, that, among the farmers, there is not 5lb. of meat conſumed in the family throughout the year. And yet the Highland Society, in their inſtructions for the framing of this act, recommended 7lb. a week as abſolutely neceſſary for every paſſenger. Nobody, after attending to theſe enactments, will entertain a doubt that their real purpoſe was to enhance the expence of the voyage, and ſo render it leſs within the means of the poor tenants. Such a purpoſe was not altogether diſcovered by the Society, and afterwards afforded exultation to many individuals. In the real operation of the act, however, the difference of expence has no other effect but to encroach upon the little ſtock of caſh collected by the emigrants from the ſale of their property, and to land them on the foreign ſhore worſe provided for their new exertions. It is ſuperfluous to expoſe more at large the injuſtice of ſuch a law. It may eaſily have been impoſed upon the humanity of thoſe who were wholly ignorant of the Highlands and the emigrations. But we cannot ſo readily acquit them, to whom the circumſtances of that country and its diſlodged inhabitants were perfectly well known.

III. Since emigration muſt go on from the Highlands, until the claſs of ſmall tenants is drained off, it ſeems deſirable that the overflowings of our own population ſhould contribute to the ſtrength and improvement of our own colonies. But from circumſtances accidental at firſt, and perpetuated by the natural diſpoſition of the emigrants to follow their relations and friends where almoſt another home was already formed, moſt of the emigrations are directed to ſettlements in the United States. Different diſtricts of the Highlands have different correſponding ſettlements, to which their emigrants reſort. The people in each diſtrict have a tolerably accurate knowledge of ſome particular ſettlement, where their own connexions have gone; for the Highlanders diſtruſt all information about America that does not come from their own immediate connexions; and in a mountainous country, intelligence ſeldom ſpreads far beyond the valley

where

where it is firſt received. Of every other ſettlement but their own, the people of each diſtrict are uſually quite ignorant, or entertain very miſtaken notions; and, in particular, thoſe whoſe views have been directed to the ſouthern States, have received very gloomy impreſſions of the climate of Canada and the northern colonies.

In Lord Selkirk's apprehenſion, the importance of ſecuring theſe emigrants to our own colonies, inſtead of abandoning them to a foreign country, is rendered more urgent by the peculiar ſituation of our northern colonies in America. In ſome of them, it appears, ſettlers, of by no means a deſirable deſcription in reſpect of character and principles, have intruded themſelves, and are faſt approaching to a majority of numbers. Nothing would ſeem more expedient, therefore, for the preſervation of theſe colonies to the mother country, than that a ſtrong barrier ſhould be formed, againſt the contagion of American ſentiments, by a body of ſettlers whoſe manners and language are diſtinct, and who inherit antient feelings of loyalty and military valour.

In order to induce the Highlanders to change the courſe of their emigrations, determined (as has been already obſerved) by their gregarious affection, ſome ſtrong encouragement, in Lord Selkirk's opinion, ought to be held out by government. The encouragement muſt be ſufficient to induce a conſiderable body of people, connected by the ties of blood and friendſhip, to try a new ſituation; and if ſuch a ſettlement were once conducted through its firſt difficulties, till the adventurers felt confidence in their reſources, the object might be conſidered as accompliſhed. It is not neceſſary that the inducements ſhould be continued longer than this. But they ought to be of ſuch a nature as to ſuit thoſe who feel ſome difficulty, from the narrowneſs of their means, in executing their deſign. We perfectly acquieſce in Lord Selkirk's reaſoning, that this might be done without increaſing the ſpirit of emigration, or rather that, upon the principles of human nature, it could not be done in ſuch a way as to increaſe that ſpirit in the leaſt.

Theſe views preſented themſelves to Lord Selkirk, upon the eve of the laſt war. The eventful period that followed, precluded all active proſecution of them; but their importance remained deeply impreſſed upon his mind, and their practicability was confirmed by all his maturer reflections. On the reſtoration of peace, the emigrations were recommenced with a ſpirit more determined and more widely diffuſed than upon any former occaſion. All his views recurred upon him, as demanding immediate attention; and prompted him to repreſent, to ſome members of that Adminiſtration, the neceſſity of active interference, in order to attract

the emigrants to our own colonies. This repreſentation excited no correſponding intereſt. Unwilling to abandon the object altogether, Lord Selkirk was led to conſider how far it was poſſible for him, as an individual, to follow it up on a more limited ſcale, to the effect at leaſt of proving the practicability of the ſuggeſtion. Under the aſſurance of a grant of waſte lands belonging to the Crown, upon ſuch terms as promiſed an adequate return for the unavoidable expences of the undertaking, he reſolved, at his own riſk, to try the experiment, and to engage ſome of the emigrants, who were preparing to go to the United States, to change their deſtination, and embark for our own colonies. He was given to underſtand, that it would be more ſatisfactory to Government, if the people he had engaged were ſettled in a maritime ſituation, inſtead of that which he had at firſt in contemplation. Though by no means ſatisfied that this ſuggeſtion was founded in juſt views of national policy, he felt it his duty to acquieſce, and determined on making his ſettlement in Prince Edward's Iſland in the Gulph of St Lawrence. To give the experiment a fair proſpect of ſucceſs, he yielded to the neceſſity of attending the coloniſts himſelf.

A deſcription of the ſettlement, the difficulties that attended it, its progreſs and final ſucceſs, forms the laſt chapter of this work. It does not admit of abridgement; every reader muſt have thought it too ſhort. The candour with which the firſt obſtacles are deſcribed, the practical and profound judgment with which the various means and arrangements appear to have been combined, and that tone of benevolence, without oſtentation, and yet thoroughly ſyſtematic, which pervades the whole deſign, renders it the moſt pleaſing and moſt uſeful hiſtory, that has been given to the world, of the eſtabliſhment of a new colony. We ſhall merely enumerate the leading facts. His ſettlers, to the number of eight hundred perſons of all ages, reached Prince Edward's Iſland in Auguſt 1803; and the ſpot ſelected upon this coaſt for the principal eſtabliſhment, was almoſt deſert, being ſeparated by an arm of the ſea and an interval of ſeveral miles from any older ſettlement. Before the middle of September, the people were diſperſed upon their ſeparate lots, and began the cultivation of their farms. The lots were laid out in ſuch a manner, that four or five families built their houſes in a little knot together; the diſtance between the adjacent hamlets ſeldom exceeding a mile. This ſocial plan of ſettlement, beſides other advantages to recommend it, reſembled their ſtyle of living in their native country. They were allowed to purchaſe in fee-ſimple, and, to a certain extent, on credit; from 50 to 100 acres were allotted to each family at a moderate price, but none was given gratuitouſly.

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To accommodate thoſe who had no ſuperfluity of capital, they were not required to pay the price in full till the third or fourth year of their poſſeſſion; and, in this time, an induſtrious man may have it in his power to diſcharge his debt out of the produce of the land. The ſame principle was adhered to in the diſtribution of proviſions; though ſeveral of the poorer ſettlers could not go on without ſupport, every aſſiſtance they received was as a loan, under ſtrict obligations of repayment with intereſt. They formed their firſt houſes upon the model of thoſe of the American woodſmen. Before the winter ſet in, they had not only lodged themſelves, but made ſome progreſs in cutting down the trees; and, upon the opening of the ſpring, the land was finally prepared for the ſeed. In September, however, Lord Selkirk quitted the iſland, leaving the ſettlement under the charge of a faithful agent, and did not return to it till the end of the ſame month in the following year. He found the ſettlers then engaged in ſecuring their harveſt; their crop of potatoes alone would have been ſufficient for their entire ſupport. Round the different hamlets, the extent of land in cultivation was, at an average, in the proportion of two acres to each able working hand. And ſeveral boats had been built, by means of which a conſiderable ſupply of fiſh had been obtained. In the whole ſettlement, he met but two men who ſhewed the leaſt appearance of deſpondency. The further progreſs of theſe coloniſts is now to be left to their own guidance. Moſt of them have already proceeded to improve the conſtruction of their houſes, leſs perhaps from a perſonal deſire of better accommodation, than from that pride of landed property which is natural to the human breaſt, and which, though repreſſed among the Highland tenantry by recent circumſtances, is ready to reſume its ſpring as ſoon as their ſituation will permit. Lord Selkirk concludes with obſerving, that no farther doubt can now be entertained of the practibility of inducing the Higlanders to emigrate to our own colonies; and he flatters himſelf, with great juſtice, that no immaterial progreſs has already been made towards this object. In ſome conſiderable diſtricts, the current appears already to be decidedly turned; and farther exertions of the ſame kind might ſecure to our North American poſſeſſions all thoſe among our countrymen who cannot be retained in the kingdom. But meaſures, on ſo extenſive a ſcale as might be required, can only be accompliſhed by thoſe to whom the intereſts of the nation are particularly intruſted.

Such of our readers as have not yet procured the original work, will be much more gratified, we are ſure, with the foregoing analyſis of its contents, than if we had attempted to throw the general

general diſcuſſions into a form of our own. Nor do we find ourſelves provided with any remarks that we can venture to ſubjoin, either by way of criticiſm or confirmation. The author has unfolded his reaſonings with ſo much perſpicuity, that it would be difficult to lend them additional ſtrength by any farther illuſtrations; and in ſpite of all our vigilance, we cannot find an exception to any of the general doctrines which he has collaterally interweaved into his argument. There are, indeed, very few ſpecimens of political inveſtigation, more nearly approaching to abſolute certainty in its concluſion, than that by which he has deduced the impolicy of attempting, by law, to prevent or to regulate ſuch emigrations, as thoſe which have proceeded from the Highlands.

Conſidering the book in this aſpect, it appears to us to poſſeſs a permanent value, beyond the effect it is calculated to produce in enlightening our own Government reſpecting the nature of this actual criſis. Other parts of our own empire yet remain to undergo a ſimilar change, and other countries in the world; at leaſt, all other countries that are deſtined to improve, and that include a ſufficient extent of territory for the various branches of productive œconomy. Wherever cultivation may be heightened by the inveſting of new capital, the minute ſubdiviſion of land will be ſwept away for farmers of a different race; and wherever the extended territory of a thriving nation is diverſified by a range of mountains, theſe will at length be appropriated to paſture walks. The particulars, therefore, which Lord Selkirk has related in the hiſtory of the Highlands, may be regarded as the deſcription of a general change; for which, in all ſuch countries, legiſlators ought to be prepared, that they may not, like our Engliſh ſtatesmen of old, even Sir Thomas More and Lord Bacon, miſtake, as ſymptoms of decay and devaſtation, the movements actually occaſioned by the growth of wealth, enterprize, and induſtry. In this reſpect, we conſider Lord Selkirk as having contributed a new article, very nearly finiſhed in its form, to the general elements of political adminiſtration, and as having caſt light on one of the moſt intricate parts of the ſcience of œconomy, that in which the theory of wealth and the theory of population are examined in connexion.

ART.

ART. XIV. *The Works of Edmund Spenser, in Eight Volumes, with the principal Illustrations of various Commentators: To which are added, Notes, some Account of the Life of Spenser, and a Glossarial and other Indexes.* By the Reverend Henry John Todd, M A. F. A. S. London. Publishers, F. C. & J. Rivington, T. Payne, Cadell & Davies, and R. H. Evans. 1805.

Sir Walter Scott

A COMPLETE and respectable edition of Spenser's works, has been long a *desideratum* in English literature. Indeed, to what purpose do our antiquaries purchase at high rates, and peruse, at the cost of still more valuable leisure and labour, the treasures of the black letter, which, in themselves, have usually so very little to repay their exertions? Surely, the only natural and proper use of the knowledge thus acquired, is to throw light, as well upon our early literature, as on the manners and language of our ancestors, by re-editing and explaining such of our ancient authors as have suffered by the change of both. Amongst these, Spenser must ever be reckoned one of the most eminent; for no author, perhaps, ever possessed and combined, in so brilliant a degree, the requisite qualities of a poet. Learned, according to the learning of his times, his erudition never appears to load or incumber his powers of imagination; but even the fictions of the classics, worn out as they are by the use of every pedant, become fresh and captivating themes, when adopted by his fancy, and accommodated to his plan. If that plan has now become to the reader of riper years somewhat tedious and involved, it must be allowed, on the other hand, that from Cowley downwards, every youth of imagination has been enchanted with the splendid legends of the Faery Queen. It was therefore with pleasure that we turned to the examination of a work, which promised to recal the delightful sensations of our earlier studies; and if we have been in some respects disappointed in the perusal, we do not impute it altogether to want of diligence or accuracy on the part of Mr Todd, whose commentary, so far as it goes, is in both respects commendable. In the Life of Spenser, which is the longest specimen of original composition, he has brought forward several new facts, and evinced a laudable anxiety to throw light upon the story, by comparison of dates, and investigation of contemporary documents. The result of his labours is stated in so modest a manner, as ought, in some degree, to disarm the harshness of criticism. He himself terms it 'a very humble account of the life of Spenser, drawn from authentic records, the curiosity and importance of which, will, I trust, be admitted by the liberal

liberal and candid as an apology for the want of biographical elegance.' It is, however, our duty to point out ſome defects in the plan of this Memoir, by avoiding which, we apprehend, much might have been added to its perſpicuity and elegance, without the leaſt derogation from its authenticity.

The events of Spenſer's earlier life are, in ſome meaſure, extracted from a correſpondence betwixt the poet and Gabriel Harvey, the ſame againſt whom Naſh wrote the ſatire, well known among collectors, entitled, 'Have with you to Saffron-Walden, or Gabriel Harvey's Hunts up.' It was highly meritorious in Mr Todd to peruſe theſe letters, and to conſider them as proper materials for his biography. But we are diſpoſed to blame him, firſt, becauſe he has not republiſhed an entire copy of this curious correſpondence, which was of ſo much importance to the matter in hand; and, ſecondly, becauſe, inſtead of printing the letters as an appendix to the life, he has thruſt large extracts from them into the midſt of his own narrative. Nothing, indeed, in our opinion, could have a more confuſed and inelegant effect than this medley of narrative and quotation. The biographer ſhould always ſtudy to give his work the appearance of continuity. He may, and ought to refer diſtinctly to the ſources of his information; and where there is doubt, the words of the original documents may be ſubjoined in a note to juſtify his inference; but the text ought to be expreſſed hiſtorically, and in the language of the author himſelf. It is extremely awkward to jump from the words of the narrator into thoſe of Spenſer, and has, beſides, the effect of making one part of the memoir bear a great diſproportion to the other. For the letter-writer ſpends much more time in diſcuſſing the matter, then immediatly before him, than the biographer has probably an opportunity of beſtowing upon incidents of much greater importance. Nevertheleſs, although theſe letters are thus thruſt upon our hands in a diſorderly manner, the extracts have afforded us amuſement, and give room, as we have already hinted, to regret that they had not been printed ſeparately, with ſuch explanatory notes as Mr Todd's reſearches ſuggeſted. We perceive from thence, that Spenſer had buſied himſelf in the fruitleſs and unharmonious taſk of verſifying as it was then called, that is, of compoſing Engliſh verſes according to the Latin proſody. He ſeems, at the ſame time, to have been fully ſenſible of the difficulty of the attempt, and we wonder at his perſeverance, after the humour with which he deſcribes its effects.

'I like your late Engliſhe Hexameters ſo exceedingly well, that I alſo enure my penne ſometime in that kinde: whyche I fynd indeede, as I have heard you often defende in worde, neither ſo harde nor ſo harſhe, that it will eaſily and fairely yeelde it ſelfe to oure moother tongue.

tongue. For the onely, or chiefeſt hardneſſe, whyche ſeemeth, is in the accente; whyche ſometime gapeth, and as it were yawneth ilfavouredly; comming ſhorte of that it ſhould, and ſometime exceeding the meaſure of the number, as in *Carpenter*, the middle ſillable being uſed ſhorte in ſpeache, when it ſhall be read long in verſe, ſeemeth like a lame goſling, that draweth one legge after hir: and *Heaven*, beeing uſed ſhorte as one ſillable when it is in verſe, ſtretched out with a diaſtole, is like a lame dogge that holdes up one legge. But it is to be wonne with cuſtome, and rough words muſt be ſubdued with uſe. For, why a God's name may not we, as elſe the Greekes, have the kingdome of our owne language, and meaſure our accentes by the ſounde, reſerving the quantitie to the verſe? Loe here I let you ſee my olde uſe of toying in rymes, turned into your artificial ſtraightneſſe of verſe by this *Tetraſticon*. I beſeech you tell me your fancie, without parcialitie.

See yee the blindefoulded pretie god, that feathered archer,
Of lovers miſeries which maketh his bloodie game?
Wote ye why his moother with a veale hath covered his face?
Truſte me, leaſt he my Loove happely chaunce to beholde.'—
Vol. I. p. xxxiv—v.

We could hardly have ſuſpected Spenſer, the marſhalled march of whoſe ſtanza is in general ſo harmonious, of drilling the ſtubborn and unmanageable words of the Engliſh language into ſuch ſtrange doggrel. The verſes are truly 'lame and o'erburthened, and ſcreaming their wretchedneſs.'

From another paſſage in this correſpondence, the young poet may learn how little he ought to rely upon the taſte even of the ableſt counſellor. Harvey was a ſcholar, and, in ſome ſenſe, even a poet; he was moreover Spenſer's *long approved and ſingular good friend*; nevertheleſs, Gabriel had the aſſurance to write the following libel upon the Faery Queen, for the conceited pedantry of which he deſerves a worſe *Hunts up* than was played him by Naſhe.

"In good faith I had once againe nigh forgotten *your Faerie Queene:* howbeit, by good chaunce I have nowe ſent hir home at the laſte, neither in better nor worſe caſe than I founde hir. And muſt you, of neceſſitie, have my judgement of hir in deede? To be plaine; I am voyde of al judgement, if your * *nine Comædies*, whereunto, in imitation of

* "It is to be lamented," ſays Mr Cooper Walker in a letter to me [Mr Todd], "that Spenſer's *nine Comedies*, ſo much extolled by Harvey, are loſt. It is ſuppoſed they were not dramatic poems, but a ſeries of lines, in nine diviſions, like the *Teares of the Muſes*, and that to each diviſion was given the denomination of *Comedy;* the author uſing that term in the wide ſenſe in which it was employed by Dante, Boccacio,

of Herodotus, you give the names of the Nine Muſes, (and in one mans fanſie not unworthily,) come not neerer Arioſtoes *Comædies*, eyther for the fineneſſe of plauſible elocution, or the rareneſſe of poetical invention, than that *Elviſh Queene* doth to his *Orlando Furioſo;* which, notwithſtanding, you wil needes ſeeme to emulate, and hope to overgo, as you flatly profeſſed yourſelf in one of your laſt Letters. Beſides that, you know it hath bene the uſual practiſe of the moſt exquiſite and odde wittes in all nations, and ſpecially in *Italie*, rather to ſhewe and advaunce themſelves that way than any other; as namely, thoſe three dyſcourſing heads, Bibiena, Machiavel, and Aretine, did, (to let Bembo and Arioſto paſſe,) with the great admiration and wonderment of the whole countrey; being indeede reputed matchable in all points, both for conceyt of witte and eloquent decyphering of matters, either with Ariſtophanes and Menander in Greek, or with Plautus and Terence in Latin, or with any other in any other tong. But I wil not ſtand greatly with you in your owne matters. If ſo be the *Faerie Queene* be fairer in your eie than the Nine Muſes, and Hobgoblin runne away with the garland from Apollo; marke what I ſaye; and yet I will not ſay that [which] I thought; but there an end for this once, and fare you well till God, or ſome good Aungell, putte you in *a better mind.*" p. xlv. xlvi.

There is another circumſtance which gives Mr Todd's life of Spenſer a more clumſy and ungainly appearance than the matter itſelf really deſerves. It has been obſerved long ago, that the hiſtory of an author is the hiſtory of his works; and, therefore, Mr Todd has, with great propriety, regularly recorded the various publications of his author, in the order in which they were given to the world. But, from a want of arrangement, not peculiar to this editor, he has uniformly appended to his notices of theſe publications, a variety of circumſtances, illuſtrative of their contents, which properly make no part of Spenſer's life, although they ought to have been introduced as notes upon his writings. It certainly is not always eaſy to ſeparate exactly the department of the biographer from that of the commentator; but it is obvious, that to interrupt the narrative, by notes critical and illuſtratory, muſt neceſſarily deſtroy the effect of both. To theſe preliminary obſervations, which affect rather the manner than the matter of Mr Todd's memoir, we ſubjoin the leading incidents of Spenſer's life, as they have been illuſtrated by his induſtry.

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cacio, and other early Italian writers. But I think the words of Harvey are deciſive in regard to the form of theſe pieces. For the Comedies of Arioſto, to which he compares the Comedies of Spenſer, and to which he thinks they *come ſo near*, are *regular dramas;* as are the Comedies of Bibiena, Machiavelli, and Aretino, with which he claſſes them."

The fame of this poet, however great during his lifetime, ſeems to have excited no inquiry into his parentage. He himſelf informs us that he was born in

'——— merry London, my moſt kindly nurſe,
That to me gave this life's firſt native ſource,
Though from another place I take my name,
A houſe of ancient fame.'

But although Spenſer alludes repeatedly to his gentle birth, and claims kindred with ſeveral perſons of rank, his parents are entirely unknown; a circumſtance which Mr Todd, in beginning his life, paſſes over without commentary. It appears from a paſſage in one of the ſonnets, that the Chriſtian name of his mother was Elizabeth; and this is all we know of the matter. The birth of the poet is conjectured to have taken place about 1553; but the firſt event of his life which has been aſcertained, is his admiſſion as a ſizer of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge 1569, where he acquired the degree of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts in 1572-3 & 1576. Here commenced his intimacy with Gabriel Harvey. He ſeems to have been diſappointed, either in his views of a fellowſhip, or of ſome other academical diſtinction, which has not prevented his gratitude to his *alma mater* from breaking forth in his account of the Ouze, who

'———doth by Huntingdon and Cambridge flit;
My mother Cambridge, whom, as with a crown,
He doth adorn, and is adorned of it,
With many a gentle muſe, and many a learned wit.'

From the Univerſity, Spenſer ſeems to have retired to ſome friends in the north. Of the cauſe of his journey, or his occupation while with them, we have no record. Here he compoſed, beſides leſſer poems, the Shepherd's Calendar; a work which, in ſome places, exhibits a beautiful model of paſtoral poetry, and, in others, that turn for allegorizing and moralizing two meanings in the ſame tale, which afterwards gave riſe to the Faery Queen.

It is ſuppoſed that ſome paſſages in theſe poems, of a nature rather political than paſtoral, particularly a warm eulogium on Archbiſhop Grendal, drew down upon our author the wrath of the great Burleigh; the effects of which, although deprecated by Spenſer, and exaggerated perhaps by former biographers, certainly continued to attend him through his life. It was in vain he aſcribed to a commentary of the Blatant Beaſt Slander, that conſtruction of his poetry which had drawn on him 'a mighty Peer's diſpleaſure:' It was in vain that, among the worthies of Elizabeth's court, to whom he addreſſed ſeparate ſonnets with his Faery Queen, he diſtinguiſhed Burleigh by the moſt

moſt flattering ſtrain of adulation. We find, from repeated paſſages in his works, that his offence was never forgotten or forgiven. But the Shepherd's Calendar, although unfortunate in making our poet one powerful and inveterate enemy, ſecured him many active and diſtinguiſhed friends. Its fame was the means of introducing him to the friendſhip of Sir Philip Sidney, and to that of Leiceſter; a more powerful, if leſs diſcerning patron. The latter received Spenſer into his houſe, though in what capacity does not preciſely appear; perhaps in order to facilitate the compoſition of the *Stemmata Dudleiana*, an account of the Earl's genealogy, with which Spenſer appears to have been buſied in 1580. At this time the poet was alſo engaged with his Faery Queen, with the Dying Pellican, with the Viſions, which he afterwards publiſhed in a more correct ſhape, and ſundry leſs important labours. About July in the ſame year, he received, doubtleſs through the patronage of Lord Leiceſter, the honourable appointment of Secretary to Arthur Lord Grey, then nominated Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which he held till Lord Grey's return to England in 1582. Spenſer appears to have been ſincerely attached to this nobleman, whom he has diſtinguiſhed in his Faery Queen under the character of Arthegal, or Juſtice. Lord Grey's courſe with the Iriſh was that of ſeverity, for exceſs of which he ſeems to have been recalled to England. Hence Spenſer deſcribes Arthegal, when returning from the adventure of ſuccouring Irene, as leaving his work unfiniſhed.

'But, ere he could reform it thoroughly,
He through occaſion was called away
To Faery Court, that of neceſſity
His courſe of juſtice he was forced to ſtay.'

On his return, the victorious knight is attacked by Envy, by Detraction, and by the Blatant Beaſt, or Slander, who railed againſt him;

'Saying that he had, with unmanly guile
And foul abuſion, both his honour blent,
And that bright ſword, the ſword of juſtice, lent,
Had ſtained, with reproachful cruelty,
In guiltleſs blood of many an innocent.
As for Grandtorto, him with treacherie
And traines having ſurpriſed, he foully did to die.'

This laſt accuſation is referred by Upton to Lord Grey's putting to death the Spaniards who held out the fort of Smerwick after they had ſurrendered to him at diſcretion; which 'ſharp execution' Spenſer has juſtified at more length in his State of Ireland. After the recal of Lord Grey, the poet's ſervices in the ſtate,

ſtate, and perhaps alſo his poetical fame, was rewarded by the grant of the caſtle of Kilcolman in the county of Cork, and 3028 acres out of the forfeited eſtate of the Earl of Deſmond. Mr Todd has copied, from Smith's Hiſtory of the County of Cork, the following intereſting account of our poet's reſidence upon this property, during the happieſt period of his life.

"Two miles north-weſt of Doneraile is Kilcolman, a ruined caſtle of the Earls of Deſmond; but more celebrated for being the reſidence of the immortal Spenſer, where he compoſed his divine poem, *The Faerie Queene.* The caſtle is now almoſt level with the ground. It was ſituated on the north ſide of a fine lake, in the midſt of a vaſt plain, terminated to the eaſt by the county of Waterford mountains; Ballyhowra hills to the north, or, as Spenſer terms them, the mountains of Mole; Nagle mountains to the ſouth; and the mountains of Kerry to the weſt. It commanded a view of above half of the breadth of Ireland; and muſt have been, when the adjacent uplands were wooded, a moſt pleaſant and romantic ſituation; from whence, no doubt, Spenſer drew ſeveral parts of the ſcenery of his poem. The river Mulla, which he more than once has introduced in his poems, ran through his grounds." Here, indeed, the poet has deſcribed himſelf, as keeping his flock under the foot of the mountain Mole, amongſt the cooly ſhades of green alders, by the ſhore of Mulla; and charming his oaten pipe (as his cuſtom was) to his fellow ſhepherd-ſwains.' Life, p. l. li.

We are here tempted to copy two ſtanzas, deſcriptive of Spenſer's tranquil retreat, and containing, eſpecially the firſt, the moſt happy imitation of the rich and artful melody of his verſification.

'Awake, ye weſt windes, through the lonely dale,
And Fancy to thy faerie bower betake;
Even now with balmie freſhneſs breathes the gale,
Dimpling with downie wing the ſtilly lake;
Through the pale willows faultering whiſpers wake,
And evening comes with locks bedropt with dew;
On Deſmond's mouldering turrets ſlowly ſhake
The trembling rie-graſs and the hare-bell blew;
And ever and anon fair Mulla's plaints renew.

'O for the nameleſſe power to ſtrike mine eare,
The power of charm by Naiads once poſſeſt!
Melodious Mulla! when full oft while eare
Thy gliding numbers ſoothed the gentle breſt
Of hapleſſe Spenſer; long with woes oppreſt,
Long with the drowzie patron's ſmiles decoyed,
Till in thy ſhades, no more with cares diſtreſt,
No more with painful, anxious hopes accloyed,
The Sabbath of his life the mild good man enjoyed.'

The delight of theſe halcyon days was enhanced by a viſit which Sir Walter Raleigh made to his eſtates in our author's vicinity

in 1589. To the criticism of the Shepherd of the Ocean, as Spenser elsewhere termed him, the poet submitted such books of the Faery Queen as he had then finished; and was determined, by his ardent approbation, immediately to prepare them for the press. For this purpose, he accompanied Sir Walter in his return to England; and in 1590, the three first books of this beautiful poem were given to the world. The author of a romantic poem did not remain long unrewarded in the romantic court of Elizabeth. The Earl of Essex, who replaced, as the flower of chivalry, the amiable Sidney, was now added to Spenser's former patrons; and, under their auspices, our poet received from Queen Elizabeth a pension of 50l. yearly; and perhaps the list of laureate dulness has some title to be illuminated by the name of Spenser. Some farther advantages, probably a permanent establishment in Britain, appear to have been unsuccessfully solicited by our author; for the striking lines, describing the miseries of a suitor for court favour, have been always understood to refer to his own disappointments.

'Full little knoweſt thou that haſt not tride,
What hell it is in ſuing long to bide:
To loſe good days that might be better ſpent;
To waſte long nights in penſive diſcontent;
To ſpeed to-day, to be put back to-morrow;
To feed on hope, to pine with fear and ſorrow;
To have thy prince's grace, yet want her peere's;
To have thy aſking, yet wait many years;
To frett thy ſoul with croſſes and with cares;
To eat thy heart through comfortleſs deſpairs;
To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to ronne;
To ſpend, to give, to want to be undone.'

Mother Hubbard's Tale.

In the ſame ſatire and elſewhere, Spenſer has not heſitated to launch the darts of his ſatire againſt his powerful enemy Lord Burleigh. After the publication of the Faery Queen in 1590, Spenſer ſeems to have returned to Ireland, where he was ſoon after married. The progreſs of his paſſion and its ſucceſs is celebrated in his ſonnets and Epithalamion. Mr Todd ſuppoſes this happy event to have taken place in 1594. The ſurname of the beautiful Elizabeth has eſcaped the reſearches of the biographer. In the year 1595, to omit leſſer particulars, the next three books of the Faery Queen made their appearance. There is an unauthoriſed ſtory told by Sir James Ware, that about this time Spenſer had written the remaining ſix cantos of that beautiful poem, which were afterwards loſt by the careleſsneſs of his ſervant in paſſing from Ireland. But it appears much more proba-

ble,

ble, that the work was never completed by the author, especially when we consider how long he had dwelt upon the first three books. It is too certain, that if any fragments, excepting the two cantos of 'Mutabilitie,' did ever exist, they are entirely lost to the world, and were probably destroyed in the wreck of our author's fortune, when his house was pillaged by the rebels. Spenser visited England in 1596, when he appears to have presented to the Queen and her ministers his View of the State of Ireland; which probably induced Elizabeth to recommend him to the office of sheriff of Cork, by a letter dated in September 1598. But, in October following, Tyrone, who had been long in arms, obtained that signal victory over Sir Henry Bagnol, marshal of Ireland, which was long after remembered by the name of the Defeat of Blackwater. He instantly summoned his secret confederates in Munster to imitate him in assailing the English settlers. The call was obeyed; and the insurrection, like those we have had the misfortune to witness in later times, broke out with the irresistible fury of a volcano. At the head of the Munster rebels was James Fitzthomas Geraldine, titular Earl of Desmond. It was natural that he and his followers should be inflamed with the most bitter indignation against 'the English Undertakers,' as they were called, to whom the forfeited estates of the Geraldines had been granted after Desmond's war. 'And to speak truth,' says Fynes Morrison, who had the best access to know the fact, 'Munster undertakers were in great part cause of this defection, and of their own fatal miseries. For, whereas they should have built castles, and brought over colonies of English, and have admitted no Irish tenant, but only English, these and like covenants were in no part performed by them. Of whom the men of best quality never came over, but made profit of the land; others brought no more English than their own families; and all entertained Irish servants and tenants, which were now the first to betray them. If the covenants had been kept by them, they themselves might have made two thousand able men; whereas, the Lord President could not find above two hundred of English birth amongst them, when the rebels first entered the province. Neither did these gentle undertakers make any resistance to the rebels; but left their dwellings, and fled to walled towns; yea, when there was such danger in flight, as greater could not have been in defending their own, whereof many of them had woful experience, being surprised with their wives and families in flight.' We have been full in our account of this insurrection, because Mr Todd has not thought proper to explain to his readers, either the nature of the grants to the Munster undertakers, of whom Spenser was one, or the progress of the insurrection, by which our author was so

great a ſufferer. Indeed, he has always ſubſtituted *Tyrone*'s rebellion for that of *Deſmond*, with dubious propriety, ſince that branch of the rebellion by which Spenſer ſuffered, is allowed to have burſt forth in October 1598; which is true of the Munſter inſurrection, but not of the original war of Tyrone, which had already raged in Ulſter for ſeveral years. Spenſer, who held the caſtle and eſtate of Kilcolman, an ancient appanage of the Geraldines, who had been clerk of council for the province, and who, in his View of Ireland, had adviſed that future lieutenants ſhould follow the example of the ſevere and inflexible Grey, had little mercy to hope from the rebels. Accordingly, he fled with precipitation,—ſuch precipitation, that an infant child of the poet's appears to have been left behind, who periſhed when the rebels burned his caſtle. He arrived in London in miſery and indigence. The bounty of Eſſex, and of his other friends, might ſave him from the extremity of poverty; but, in proportion as the ſufferers under a calamity are numerous, relief becomes more difficult, and individual diſtreſs is regarded with leſs commiſeration. Spenſer never ſubdued the impreſſions of ſorrow and misfortune. He died of a broken heart at London in January 1599. And here we cannot but ſeverely cenſure the late laureate, who may be almoſt ſaid to have falſified a paſſage of Drummond of Hawthornden, in order to countenance an idea which he had taken up, that Spenſer died in Ireland. * He was buried at the expence of his munificent patron the Earl of Eſſex. His melancholy fate is thus commemorated by Phineas Fletcher.

'Witneſs our Colin, whom, though all the Graces
And all the Muſes loved; whoſe well-taught ſong
Parnaſſus' ſelf and Glorian embraces,
And all the learned and all the ſhepherd throng;
Yet all his hopes were croſſed, all ſuits denyed,
Diſcouraged, ſcorned, his writings vilifyed.
Poorly, poor man, he lived; poorly, poor man, he died.

And

* 'Spenſer himſelf,' ſays Mr Warton, 'died *in Ireland*, in the moſt wretched condition, amid the deſolations of the rebellion in Munſter; as appears from the following curious anecdote in Drummond, who has left us the heads of a converſation between himſelf and Ben Jonſon. "B. Jonſon told me that Spenſer's goods were robbed by the Iriſh in Deſmond's rebellion; his houſe, and a little child of his burnt, and he and his wife nearly eſcaped; that he afterwards died in Kingſtreet (*Dublin*), by abſolute want of bread." Now, it does *not* appear from the paſſage quoted, that Spenſer died in Ireland, becauſe Dublin, the only word referring to that kingdom in the whole paſſage, has been ſuppreſſed by the laureate himſelf.

'And had not that great Hart * (whose honoured head,
Ah, lies full low) pitied thy woeful plight,
There hadst thou lain, unwept, unburied,
Unblest, nor graced with any common rite:
Yet thou shalt live when thy great foe shall sink
Beneath his mountain tomb, whose fame shall stink,
And Time his blacker name shall blurr with blackest ink.

'Oh let the Iambic Muse revenge that wrong,
Which cannot slumber in thy sheets of lead:
Let thy abused honour cry as long
As there be quills to write or eyes to read.
On his rank name let thine own votes be turned,
"Oh may that man that hath the Muses scorned,
"Alive nor dead be ever of a Muse adorned."

We have thus made a brief analysis of Todd's Life of Spencer, which is the principal portion of original matter contributed to this edition by the editor. The Memoir, in point of style, is of a dry, sober, and sleepy cast: elegance has not perhaps been aimed at; certainly it has not been attained.

To the Life is subjoined a list of the editions of Spenser, and of his professed imitators. To the latter might have been added the unknown author of the Battle of the Sexes, an allegorical poem, in the manner of Spenser, which, though now forgotten, contains some very striking passages.

The edition of the poems themselves is published *cum notis variorum;* so that instead of extracting from his predecessors' labours their spirit and essence, Mr Todd has overlaid poor Spenser with the unselected mass of their commentaries in addition to his own; and, after all, we are much afraid the text is, in many instances, rather burthened than assisted. In fact, as no author deserved the commentary of a kindred spirit so much as Spenser, we are greatly surprised that the task has not been long since undertaken by some person better qualified than Upton, Hughes, Church, or even Tom Warton himself. As none merits, so perhaps few English authors so much require, the assistance of a skilful commentator. The plan of the Faery Queen is much more involved than appears at first sight to a common reader. Spenser himself has intimated this in his letter to Sir Walter Raleigh prefixed to the poem. For he there mentions, that he has often a

* Essex described by his cognizance. Thus again Fletcher says of Queen Elisabeth,

'But ah, no joy her dying heart contented,
Since she a dear Deer's side unwilling rented,
Whose death she all too late, too much lamented.'

general and particular intention, as when he figures, under Gloriana, the general abſtract idea of glory, but alſo the particular living perſon of Queen Elizabeth. This 'continued allegory or dark conceit,' therefore, contains, beſides the general allegory or moral, many particular and minute alluſions to perſons and events in the court of Queen Elizabeth, as well as to points of general hiſtory. The ingenuity of a commentator would have been moſt uſefully employed in decyphering what, 'for avoiding of jealous opinions and miſconſtructions,' our author did not chuſe to leave too open to the contemporary reader. But although every thing belonging to the reign of the Virgin Queen carries with it a ſecret charm to Engliſhmen, no commentator of the Faery Queen has taken the trouble to go very deep into thoſe annals, for the purpoſe of illuſtrating the ſecret, and, as it were, eſoteric alluſions of Spenſer's poem. Upton is the only one who has pointed out ſome of theſe relations and alluſions; but he has neither been ſufficiently particular, nor is the low vulgar familiarity of his ſtyle a fit accompaniment to the lofty verſe of Spenſer. Church and Hughes both remain in the court of the Gentiles; and the preſent worthy commentator adds little to their labours, ſave a few crumbs of verbal criticiſm. We fear they have verified the ſaying of Hamlet, that a knaviſh ſpeech ſleeps in a fooliſh ear. Thoſe political inuendos which Spenſer wrapt up in myſtery and allegory, may even remain like unexpounded oracles, for all the light theſe learned gentlemen can throw upon them. They have not even followed the clue thrown out by Upton. As for the late laureate, it is well known that he could never follow a clue of any kind. With a head abounding in multifarious lore, and a mind unqueſtionably imbued with true poetic fire, he wielded that moſt fatal of all implements to its poſſeſſor, a pen ſo ſcaturient and unretentive, that we think he himſelf muſt have been often aſtoniſhed, not only at the extent of his lucubrations, but at their total and abſolute want of connexion with the ſubject he had aſſigned to himſelf. Thus, inſtead of a hiſtory of poetry, he preſented the world with three huge volumes of mingled and indigeſted quotations and remarks, in which the reader, like the ancient alchemiſts in their reſearches, is ſure to meet every thing but what he is ſeeking for. Had Mr Warton, therefore, ſat down to explain the political alluſions of Spenſer, he would probably have commenced with an erudite hiſtory of Cræſus, king of Lydia. So uſeleſs are parts and erudition, when not directed ſoberly and ſteadily to the illuſtration of the point in hand. It may be expected that we ſhould produce ſome examples of the crimes of omiſſion imputable to Mr Todd and his predeceſſors.

The Red-Croſs Knight, in the obvious and general interpretation,

tion, ſignifies, 'Holineſs;' or, the perfection of the Spiritual Man in Religion. But, in the political and particular ſenſe, the adventures of St George bear a peculiar and obvious, though not an uniform, reference to the hiſtory of the Church of England as eſtabliſhed by Queen Elizabeth. Thus, we find the orthodox church, in its earlier hiſtory, ſurmounting the hereſies of the Arians, and many others; as the Red-Croſs Knight, while animated by the voice of Una or Truth, deſtroys the monſter Error and her brood. Again, he defeats Sans Foy, but falls into the ſnares of Dueſſa, the leman of the vanquiſhed knight. Thus the Church, in the reign of Conſtantine, triumphed over Paganiſm, but was polluted by Error in conſequence of its acceſſion to temporal ſovereignty. Hence its purity was affected by thoſe vices which are deſcribed as inhabiting the houſe of Pride; and, becoming altogether relaxed in diſcipline, the church was compelled to ſubmit to the domination of the Pope. Theſe events are diſtinctly figured out in the impriſonment of the Red-Croſs Knight in the Caſtle of Orgoglio, and in Dueſſa's aſſuming the trappings and ſeven-headed palfrey of the Whore of Babylon. Here the poet alſo ſeems dimly to have ſhadowed forth what was not too plainly to be named—the perſecution in the days of Queen Mary.

'But all the floor (too filthy to be told)
With blood of guiltleſs babes and innocents true,
Which there were ſlain as ſheep out of the fold,
Defiled was, that dreadful was to view;
And ſacred aſhes over it was ſtrowed new.'

The conqueſt of Orgoglio and Dueſſa do therefore plainly figure forth the downfal of Popery in England, as the enlargement of the Red-Croſs Knight ſignifies the freedom of the Proteſtant Church, happily accompliſhed by the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth. Yet theſe obvious inferences have eſcaped the commentators of Spenſer.

The affection of Timias for Belphœbe, is allowed, on all hands, to allude to Sir Walter Raleigh's pretended admiration of Queen Elizabeth; and his diſgrace, on account of a leſs platonic intrigue with the daughter of Sir Nicolas Throgmorton, together with his reſtoration to favour, are plainly pointed out in the ſubſequent events. But no commentator has noticed the beautiful inſinuation by which the poet points out the error of his friend, and of his friend's wife. Timias finds Amoret in the arms of Corflambo, or ſenſual paſſion; he combats the monſter unſucceſsfully, and wounds the lady in his arms. We have not time to go through many other minute circumſtances alluding to the hiſtory and intrigues of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Many of them are noticed in Upton's notes; but, we think, without ſufficiently detailing the

authorities on which he grounds his explanation. The fiery ſpirit of the unfortunate Earl of Weſtmoreland is detected under the perſonage of Blandamour, fickle both in friendſhip and in love, and eaſily heated into brawls, even when an exile in the Prince of Parma's court *; of which, the inſtance in the note might with propriety have been quoted. Mr Todd has, however, added nothing to what Upton has done, in explanation of Spenſer's hiſtorical alluſions, although that poet himſelf hath told us,

'Of faery lond yet if he more inquire,
By certain ſigns, here ſet in ſundry place,
He may it find; ne let him then admire,
But yield his ſenſe to be too blunt and baſe,
That note without a hound fine footing trace.'

But there is another, and perhaps ſtill more intereſting ſource of inquiry, opened by the peruſal of Spenſer's poem. We allude to the ſtate of Italian literature at the period when he wrote. That country had awakened from the ſleep of barbarous ignorance, at leaſt three centuries before the reſt of Europe; and had already decorated, with claſſical imagery and alluſions, many a ſtory of Gothic origin. It would be neceſſary to plunge deep into the hiſtory of their poetry, to explain the extent to which Spenſer has made it the object of his imitation; and in this Mr Todd appears to us to have failed in reſearch or in ſucceſs. In fact, that gentleman's ambition ſeems to have been limited to the humble taſk of chooſing betwixt conteſted readings, in which he is generally guided by ſound judgment, and in explaining obſolete words, in which he is ſometimes inſufferably and unneceſſarily prolix. For example, the common word *port*, applied to perſonal carriage, is authoriſed by a note about the *port* and *countenance* of the Lord Mayor of London. There is another long note about the expreſſion 'hurly-burly,' which elegant phraſe he does us the honour to deduce from Scotland. There is alſo a prodigious long quotation from Don Quixote, to verify the fact, that knights-errant, like moſt other people, beſtowed names upon their horſes. We have alſo tedious diſcuſſions, not the leſs dull for being backed with claſſical authority, upon ſuch queſtions as, whether Spenſer did write, or ought to have written Acidalian, or Aridalian; and

* 'The Lord of Weſtmoreland, according to him, went poor and careleſs of all the world. Being braved, a little before, at the Court of Bruges, by a Spaniſh cavalier, who reviled our nation—My ſaid Lord, not able to endure ſuch terms, drew upon him, and had ſurely murdered the Spanyard, had not the fray been taken up, for the preſent, by ſuch as ſtood bye.' Letter to the Lords of Council, Strype's Annals, *ad ann.* 1596.

and not a heathen god or goddeſs eſcapes, without a full account of their breed and generation, for which perhaps the reader might have been briefly referred to Tooke's Pantheon. On the other hand, many obſcure references, which do not fall within the courſe of general ſtudy, are left unexplained, or perhaps the perplexed reader is coolly referred to ſome work of rare occurrence for the ſolution. Thus, for the prophecy concerning the 'fatal Welland,' we are in a great meaſure turned over to the inſtruction of Anthony a Wood; and no information at all is given concerning the ancient fabulous hiſtory of Britain, which Spenſer ſo often refers to, and upon which every day is now throwing more light.

But it was chiefly in that very curious and intereſting tract, the View of the State of Ireland, that Spenſer required the aid of a commentator to elucidate his poſitions as a hiſtorian and antiquary, and very frequently to correct his anſwers. Hardly any picture is more intereſting than that of the poet reviewing at once with fear and with ſome degree of reſpect, the manners of the rude natives by whom he was ſurrounded; and it is a ſhame to literature that nothing has been added worth noticing to what Sir James Ware has long ſince ſaid on ſo curious a ſubject.

To conclude, we are well aware that the Trade find their advantage in publiſhing what are technically called Variorum editions of celebrated authors. It ſaves copy money, ſaves trouble, ſaves every thing but the credit of the unfortunate poet. Where the poet and commentator are fairly oppoſed to each other, the former has at leaſt ſome chance of coming off victorious; but five to one would be odds even againſt Gulley, or the Game Chicken; and it is abſolutely impoſſible that an ordinary reader can form a juſt judgment of the text, which is abſolutely borne down and overwhelmed by the dull, dubious, and contradictory commentaries of ſo many uncongenial ſpirits. Their regard for the author is expreſſed like the gratitude of the Gauls, who overwhelmed with their bucklers the virgin to whom they were indebted for the conqueſt of a city. We conclude with a ſingle hint. Mr Todd is a man of learning and reſearch. We wiſh he would write eſſays in the Archæologia, and renounce editing our ancient poets.

It is however but juſtice to add, that the text is correctly and judiciouſly edited, notwithſtanding the learned lumber with which it is unneceſſarily embarraſſed.

ART.

ART. XV. *Mes Souvenirs de Vingt Ans de Sejour à Berlin; ou, Frederic le Grand, ſa Famille, ſa Cour, ſon Gouvernement, ſes Academies, ſes Ecoles, et ſes Amis Litterateurs et Philoſophes.* Par Dieudonné Thiebault, de l'Academie Royale de Berlin, &c. &c. Seconde Edition. 5 tomes 8vo. pp. 1885. Paris. Buiſſon. 1805.

M. THIEBAULT was one of the many French *ſavans* whom Frederic II. invited to ſettle in his capital, to partake of the employments connected with ſcience, and to enlarge or diverſify that literary ſociety in which he delighted to relax his mind after the fatigues of ſtate affairs. He was recommended to the King's notice by d'Alembert and d'Olivet, as a perſon ſkilled in the French language, and well verſed in various departments of the *belles lettres*. He repaired to Berlin in 1765; and, during a period of twenty years, was occaſionally employed in reviſing the royal author's French, converſing with him, or rather liſtening to his familiar diſcourſes, reading his diſſertations at the Academy, and performing the other little offices about his mind, which were required of his literary attendants. The inoffenſive talents and ſupple manners of M. Thiebault, ſeem to have qualified him, in a peculiar degree, for this menial employment. Few of his dependants approached the King more nearly or more frequently; and the reſult of this long and cloſe intercourſe has been, a very ſatisfactory developement of his character in the volumes now before us. As the author was admitted into all the beſt circles of Berlin, he has been enabled to collect a variety of intereſting particulars relative to the many eminent perſons, both natives and foreigners, who either figured in ſociety during his reſidence there, or had left behind them a lively impreſſion of their diſtinguiſhing qualities; ſo that, beſides the full and elaborate portrait of Frederic, which forms the chief figure on the canvaſs, we are introduced to a various group of his contemporaries, ſome of whom are ſcarcely leſs intereſting than himſelf.

Our author has but one mode of treating all the ſubjects that fall in his way. Upon each he pours out as many anecdotes as he has been able to preſerve, either from his own recollection, or from the narratives of credible and well-informed perſons. He writes with great eaſe, ſome powers of language, little compreſſion, and no method. He ſeldom leaves the matter in hand, to give us either diſplays of learning, or declamatory remarks. If he ſhews no great turn for profound diſcuſſions, he at leaſt has the wiſdom, for the moſt part, to keep within his depth. We rarely find him quitting his ſubject to indulge in details flattering to his vanity, although no failing lies more in the way of one who

who writes the hiſtory of his own times. Neither does he often narrate anecdotes of a deſcription improper for publication. He has chiefly to do with men whoſe conſpicuous parts in life entitle the world to examine their moſt private hiſtory; whoſe neceſſary publicity of ſtation was ſo well deſcribed by Prince Henry, in his famous obſervation upon Mirabeau's defamatory memoirs of him—'*Par bonheur ou par malheur j'appartiens tout entier à l'hiſtoire.*'

As there is in this book no pretenſions to an arranged or ſyſtematic view of the celebrated character upon which its contents throw ſo much light, we conceive it may be deemed an acceptable ſervice, if we attempt to ſupply this defect. It is not to Pruſſians or to Germans alone, that the life of Frederic preſents an intereſting retroſpect. All Europe feels to this day, and, we fear, is likely long to feel, the effects of his unprincipled policy—the ſtill more fatal conſequences of the example held out by his ſucceſs in ſeducing his neighbours from their duty, as well as by his impunity in ſpoiling them of their dominions. In the hiſtory of letters, too, the conduct of this once admired monarch forms a ſingular variety; and we are naturally curious to contemplate, how far the enthuſiaſm ſo eaſily excited by the living merit of princes, muſt ſuffer an abatement in the times of their ſucceſſors; how far the dazzling talents of the ſcholar diverted the attention of his contemporaries from the more ſolid qualifications of ſenſe and virtue; and how far the government of this *Philoſophical King* formed an exception to his own ſaying, that if a province were to be miſmanaged for a wager, it ſhould be placed under the rule of philoſophers.

It may be proper to remark, in the outſet, that the circumſtantial manner in which M. Thiebault's narratives are purſued, together with his unqueſtionable opportunities of correct information, afford ſtrong preſumptions in favour of his accuracy. He is, beſides, pretty full, for the moſt part, on thoſe particulars which tend to authenticate his ſtatements—either giving the facts explicitly upon his own authority, frequently ſupported by appeals to living witneſſes, or ſpecifying the perſons from whom his information was derived. There is, too, a general conſiſtency in his details, and a degree of impartiality in producing many of them, which tends ſtrongly to impreſs us in his favour. His own opinions ſeem to be formed with no great violence or extent of ſpeculation; ſo that one ſeldom ſuſpects him of either making the ſtory yield to a theory, or of ſeeing and recollecting through a medium of prejudice. Indeed, the judgement which we are led to form of his hero, is diametrically oppoſite to his own view of the ſubject. The chief facts which we ſhall borrow from the

the work, may the more ſafely be truſted and reaſoned upon, that they lead to a very low eſtimate of Frederic's character, while the author is a profeſſed, though not a blind, eulogiſt of it.

It is well known, that the earlier years of Frederic's life were ſpent in the ſchool of adverſity. Whether the influence of this diſcipline, ſo commonly propitious to the character of great men, was exerted in chaſtening his principles, and in calling forth and regulating thoſe feelings which the education of a court tends either to ſtifle or pervert, may be learnt not only from the private hiſtory of his reign, but from ſome anecdotes preſerved in theſe volumes, of his conduct immediately after he came to the crown; while, as yet, his heart could not have become callous from the habits of uncontrouled dominion, nor his principles unſettled by the cares of his turbulent career. When William diſcovered his ſon's plan for eſcaping from Pruſſia, he cauſed him to be arreſted, together with his confidential friend De Catt, and inſtantly brought to trial before a military commiſſion. The interpoſition of Auſtria alone ſaved the prince's life; but he was thrown into priſon at the fort of Cuſtrin, where his friend was beheaded on a ſcaffold raiſed before his apartment to the level of the window, from which he was forced to view this afflicting ſpectacle. He was ſo much overpowered, that he ſunk ſenſeleſs into the chair which had been placed to keep him at the window, and only recovered to bewail, with every appearance of the moſt poignant feeling, the fate of this unhappy young man, who had fallen a ſacrifice to his faithful attachment. The ſavage conduct of William, indeed, left him ſcarce any other occupation;—his confinement was as ſtrict, and his treatment as harſh as that of the meaneſt felon. By degrees, however, his guards watched him leſs cloſely, and he was even permitted to ſteal out under cover of night, by circuitous paths, to a chateau in the neighbourhood, the reſidence of a very amiable nobleman's family, who received him with the greateſt kindneſs, and expoſed themſelves to conſtant riſk on his account. Among them he ſpent as much of his time, for above a year, as he could gain from the humanity or treachery of his jailor. It was chiefly with muſic and reading that he conſoled himſelf in the gloom of his priſon; and they not only furniſhed him with books and candles, but made little concerts for him in the evenings, when he could eſcape to enjoy their ſociety. The young Wrechs (for that was the name of this family) were ſufficiently accompliſhed and ſprightly to gain Frederic's eſteem. He delighted much in their company, and though they were ſo numerous, that the Baron was kept in narrow circumſtances by the neceſſary expences of their maintenance and education, he contrived, by ſtraitening himſelf ſtill more,

to

to ſcrape together ſupplies of money to the amount of above ſix thouſand rixdollars, with which he aſſiſted, from time to time, his royal gueſt.

Such were the obligations which Frederic owed, during this eventful period of his life, firſt to the Houſe of Auſtria, whoſe ſpirited and deciſive interference ſaved him from the ſcaffold; next, to the unfortunate de Catt, who had ſacrificed his life in the attempt to aid his eſcape; and, laſtly, to the amiable family of the Wrechs, who, at the imminent riſk of their lives, and a certain expence little ſuited to their circumſtances, had tenderly alleviated the hardſhips of his confinement. As Frederic mounted the throne a ſhort time after he was ſet at liberty, we might naturally expect that the impreſſion of favours like theſe would outlive the ordinary period of royal memory. The firſt act of his reign was to invade the hereditary dominions of Auſtria, and reduce to the utmoſt diſtreſs the daughter and repreſentative of the monarch whoſe timely interpoſition had ſaved his life, by heading a powerful combination againſt her, after ſtripping her of an invaluable province. The family relations of de Catt never received, during the whole of his reign, even a ſmile of royal favour. To the Wrechs he not only never repayed a creutzer of the money which they had pinched themſelves to raiſe for his accommodation, but manifeſted a degree of coldneſs amounting to diſpleaſure: ſo that this worthy and accompliſhed family were in a kind of diſgrace during his time,—never received well at court,—nor promoted to any of the employments which form in ſome ſort the patrimony of the ariſtocracy. They were favoured by Prince Henry; and all that they could boaſt of owing to the King, was, to uſe an expreſſion of his panegyriſt, that '*he did not perſecute them*' on account of his brother's patronage. M. Thiebault obſerves, in defence of this baſe conduct, that Frederic, from the moment he became king, devoted every feeling of his mind to his royal ſtation, and reduced himſelf to a mechanical obſervance of its ſtrict duties. He reminds us, too, of the Pruſſian law, which prohibits the loan of money to princes of the blood, and declares all debts contracted by them null. But ſince the *King* was to govern himſelf by the enactments of this law, it would have been well if the *Prince* had conſidered them. We have heard of Lewis XII. proudly declaring that it was unworthy the King of France to revenge the wrongs of the Duke of Orleans. It was reſerved for the unfeeling meanneſs of Frederic, to ſhew us that the King was not bound by the higheſt obligations of the Prince of Pruſſia,—that he could ſhelter himſelf from the claims of honour and gratitude, by appealing to laws which had been generouſly violated in his behalf.

But it may be fair to mention the ſolitary inſtance of a contrary

trary deſcription, which we can find in comparing his conduct on the throne with the favours received during his misfortunes. He had been aſſiſted in his muſical relaxations at Potſdam by the daughter of a citizen, who, without any perſonal charms, had the accompliſhment moſt valuable to the Prince, ſecluded as he was from all ſociety, and depending for amuſement almoſt entirely on his flute. His father no ſooner heard of this intimacy, than he ſuppoſed there muſt be ſome criminal intercourſe between the young amateurs, and proceeded to meet the tender paſſion by the univerſal remedy which he was in the habit of adminiſtering to his ſubjects. The lady was ſeized, delivered over to the executioner, and publicly whipped through the ſtreets of Potſdam. This cruel diſgrace, of courſe put an end to the concerts, and to her eſtimation in ſociety. When Frederic came to the throne, ſhe was reduced to the humble ſtation of a hackney coachman's wife; and, with a rare effort of gratitude and generoſity, he was pleaſed to ſettle upon her a penſion, of very little leſs than thirty-five pounds a year.

In the courſe of his ſubſequent life, we can diſcover nothing at all inconſiſtent with the traits of character which theſe beginnings diſcloſed. M. Thiebault has been at great pains to prove that he really poſſeſſed the common feelings of humanity. It is a point, indeed, which he formally propoſes for diſcuſſion, in his own manner, by force of anecdote; and, accordingly, enters upon his bead-roll of ſtories, after a profuſion of epithets laviſhed upon ſenſibility. 'Sentiment involontaire et toujours ſi cher, qui nous livre tout entiers à l'éſtime et à l'amitié—cette affection douce et ſi touchante, qui nous lie à ceux qui nous paroiſſent en être dignes,' &c.—'germe heureux,' &c.—'qui ſe nourrit de nos ſacrifices les plus genereux—ſource delicieux et plus riche,' &c. Our author reſiſts the force of the firſt anecdote which he recounts,—the well known ſtory of Frederic keeping his friend Knobelſdorff's corpſe in his room till it was half rotten. This, he admits, is not an unequivocal proof of real ſenſibility; but in the next M. Thiebault himſelf had ſome ſhare, and it quite decides his opinion. When one of Frederic's nephews, an amiable and accompliſhed prince, died ſuddenly of the ſmall-pox, he compoſed a pompous eloge, which he intended for the Academy of Berlin. He accordingly ſent for our author, and requeſted him to read it before that learned body, after correcting the French, and giving his further remarks, which meant, expreſſing his admiration of it, in writing. But, firſt of all, he wiſhed him to make a clean copy of it, and gave him particular directions to this effect. 'However,' added he, 'you don't know my hand, and may perhaps find it difficult to decypher, for I ſcrawl rather than

than write; therefore, in order that you may gueſs my meaning more eaſily, I ſhall read this piece to you, ſuch as it is.' The king then took the paper and began to read, with the appearance, ſays our author, of a man who wiſhes to command himſelf. He ſpoke ſlowly, and made frequent pauſes to ſtrengthen his voice. He had ſcarcely turned a couple of pages, however, before his eyes were filled with tears, and his utterance began to fail; he went on with many interruptions, and tried every means to conceal his agitation; but before he could finiſh the fourth page, he was obliged to ſtop altogether, and hand the diſcourſe to M. Thiebault, who ſtood admiring to ſee this great man acceſſible, like other mortals, to the feelings of humanity; and immediately exclaims, '*Mon probleme ſût reſolu.*' He adds, that many other facts which came to his knowledge, confirmed him in the ſame opinion. We have, however, only met with one more of this deſcription in theſe volumes.—M. De Catt, entering his apartment during one of the moſt critical periods of the Seven-years' war, found him engaged in reading Bourdaloue; it was immediately after he had received the account of his eldeſt ſiſter, the Margravine of Bareuth's death, and in two days he gave him a manuſcript, deſiring him to keep it;—M. De Catt found it was a ſermon which the king had compoſed.

Now, ſuppoſe we add to theſe anecdotes, the circumſtance formerly noticed, of his grief for his friend De Catt's death; it does not appear that any evidence of a very unexceptionable kind is brought together for the deciſion of the queſtion reſpecting this Prince's feelings. The phyſical effect produced upon a perſon's nerves, by the ſight of ſome ſhocking ſpectacle, muſt be carefully diſtinguiſhed from the changes which real grief works in the mind. Tears are at leaſt as good evidence of a bodily or mental weakneſs, as of the tenderneſs of heart which we denominate ſenſibility. A man, whoſe feelings are abundantly callous, may weep copiouſly at ſeeing an intimate companion beheaded on the outſide of his window, for an action in which he was himſelf the principal; and he may cheriſh this ſorrow in the idleneſs of a dungeon, whom the moſt trifling interruption would have reſtored to his wonted gaiety or thoughtleſſneſs, in the regions of the living world. But ſtill more equivocal are the marks of feeling that are ſummoned by the exertions which a man voluntarily uſes for procuring the luxurious indulgence of grief. And moſt of all are we diſpoſed to queſtion the purity of the tears which flow to the ſtrains of the weeper's own eloquence. When an infidel ſcoffer, in ſome other mood of this ſort, occupies himſelf with writing a ſermon, we naturally conclude that there is more whim than feeling called forth by the occaſion.

occaſion. And, after all, though we were to admit that Frederic could feel, becauſe a few inſtances of this deſcription are collected, the queſtion recurs, why he ſo very ſeldom obeyed thoſe impulſes of his nature? why he conſtantly ſtifled them, except in two or three wretched caſes, where no advantage was to be ſacrificed by the indulgence, and no bad paſſions interfered? A worſe picture ſurely cannot be figured, than that of a heart which beats by the calculations of intereſt; which is dead to the influence of feeling, and only wakes at the excitements of paſſion. We are afraid that more pages than one of this eulogy of Frederic the Great, preſent ſuch a portrait to our view.

In one of his battles, happening to turn his head round, he ſaw his nephew, the Hereditary Prince, fall to the ground, his horſe being killed under him. Frederic, thinking the rider was ſhot, cried, without ſtopping, 'Ah! there's the Prince of Pruſſia killed; let his ſaddle and bridle be taken care of!' This incident we are willing to paſs over without much comment, though, to be ſure, one cannot eaſily read it without thinking of M. Thiebault's 'ſentiment involontaire et toujours ſi cher, qui nous livre tout entiers à l'eſtime et à l'amitié—' his 'premier treſor de l'homme—' his 'germe heureux, qui ſe nourrit de nos ſacrifices,' &c. and his various other epithets deſcriptive of Frederic's feelings. But, unhappily, the queſtion does not requite us to conſider minutely this inſtance, or others of the ſame complexion. There are hiſtories of a more extenſive and deciſive aſpect, interwoven as it were with his whole life, and bearing a large proportion to the ſum of his conduct, which are fully authenticated; and, though now for the firſt time given in their more copious details, were not unknown before M. Thiebault's publication appeared.

William Auguſtus, the King's elder brother, and heir apparent to the crown, had for many years been his principal favourite. He was a Prince of great abilities, and ſingularly amiable character—modeſt almoſt to timidity—and repaying the friendſhip of Frederic by a more than filial devotion. He had ſerved near his perſon in all his campaigns, had conſtantly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in war, and, after the diſaſtrous battle of Collin, was entruſted with the command of half the retreating army. While the King ſucceeded in bringing off his own diviſion ſafe into Saxony, the Prince, attacked on all hands by the whole force of the Auſtrians, ſuffered ſeveral inconſiderable loſſes on his march, and gained the neigbourhood of Dreſden with ſome difficulty. He was received, as well as his whole ſtaff, with the greateſt marks of diſpleaſure. For ſeveral days the King ſpoke to none of them; and then ſent a meſſage by one of his generals—'*que pour bien faire, il devoit leur*

leur faire trancher la tête, excepté au general Winterfeldt.' The Prince was of too feeling a diſpoſition not to ſuffer extremely from this treatment;—he addreſſed a letter to the King, in which he ſtated, that the fatigues of the campaign, and his diſtreſs of mind, had totally injured his health; and received for anſwer a permiſſion to retire, couched in the moſt bitter and humiliating reproaches. From this time he lived entirely in the boſom of his family, a prey to the deepeſt melancholy, but retaining for the King his ſentiments of warm attachment, and reſpect bordering upon veneration, although never permitted to approach his perſon. One interview only brought the brothers together after their unhappy ſeparation. The different members of the Royal family, during the moſt diſaſtrous period of the Seven-years' war, when the exiſtence of the houſe of Brandenburgh ſeemed to depend on a diminution in the number of its enemies, united their voices in exhorting the King to attempt making ſuch a peace with France and Sweden, as might be conſiſtent with the honour of his crown. Prince William was entreated to lay their wiſhes before him; and oppreſſed as he was with diſeaſe, trembling to appear in his brother's preſence, ſcarcely daring to hope even a decorous reception, he yet thought his duty required this effort, and ſupplicated an audience. Frederic allowed him to detail fully his whole views, and heard from him the unanimous prayer of his relations. '*Il prie,*' ſays our author, '*il conjure, il emploie les larmes les plus abondantes; il embraſſe les genoux de ſon frere.*' No ſentiment of pity for the cauſe he pleaded, nor any ſpark of his ancient affection kindled in Frederic's boſom at ſo touching a ſcene. He remained ſilent and ſtern during the whole interview, and then put an end to it by theſe words: '*Monſieur, vous partirez demain pour Berlin: allez faire des enfans: vous n'êtes bon qu'à cela.*' The Prince did not long ſurvive this memorable audience.

Such was the fate of his favourite brother. The Princeſs Amelia was his youngeſt and moſt beloved ſiſter. She is thus deſcribed by M. Thiebault.

'This Princeſs was in her youth the object of almoſt univerſal adoration; no leſs for the extreme beauty of her perſon and the excellence of her underſtanding, than for the mild and benevolent virtues that formed her character. She poſſeſſed, beſides, many diſtinguiſhed accompliſhments; and it was in my time ſtill recollected, that at Berlin, where the ſcience of muſic is generally cultivated, there was no one who had ſurpaſſed her in the knowledge and perfection of that arduous yet delightful art. Different pieces of muſic of her compoſition have been carefully preſerved; and I was myſelf a witneſs to the admiration they excited at a period when certainly there exiſted no predilection in her favour.

'Amelia, more perhaps than any other member of the family, poſ-

ſeſſed an underſtanding that reſembled that of Frederic: ſhe had the ſame ſubtlety, the ſame vivacity, the ſame propenſity to ſarcaſtic ridicule. With reſpect to the laſt of theſe qualities, I allude to the time in which I knew her; for, in her youth, this feature of her character had on no occaſion made its appearance.' II. 279.

The attachment of Frederic for this amiable perſon was ſo marked, as to excite the jealouſy of his other relatives, and even in time to draw down upon her the public diſlike; for ſhe was viewed as a ſort of emiſſary or ſpy to her brother. Their mutual affection, however, continued unimpaired; for the King ſubjected his friendſhips to his own caprices, and not to thoſe of his family or courtiers. The Princeſs having been cajoled out of a match with the King of Sweden, by her elder ſiſter Ulrica, who ſucceeded in obtaining it for herſelf, unfortunately fixed her affections upon a young cavalier of ſingular accompliſhments, who had juſt made his appearance at the court of Berlin, and become the object of general admiration. This was the Baron Trenck—a name ſince become almoſt proverbial for the expreſſion of every accumulation of cruel treatment. But it is not ſo well known that his unparalleled calamities were entirely owing to the indiſcreet paſſion of the Princeſs, and his inability, notwithſtanding frequent hints, to tear himſelf from the object of his attachment. He was arreſted, or rather kidnapped, upon a foreign territory, after various eſcapes from the priſons and forts of Pruſſia, and was thrown into a dungeon at Magdeburg, eighty feet below ground, carefully watched, and prevented equally from attempts to divert the gloom of his confinement, and to effect an eſcape from it. In this dreadful ſituation he remained for upwards of ten years. The effects which his ſufferings produced upon the wretched Princeſs, are painted in very ſtriking colours by the following ſimple ſtatement.

'The lady, for whom he had ſacrificed ſo much, had never loſt ſight of him: ſhe had adminiſtered to him every poſſible aſſiſtance in his firſt priſon; and while he was a fugitive abroad, and at the moment when Trenck was effecting the completion of their mutual ruin by his imprudence, he was indebted to her for the means of his ſubſiſtence. But, from the time of his being buried as it were in the fortreſs of Magdeburg, neither the moſt active zeal, nor the moſt perſevering efforts, could find a paſſage to their miſerable object.

'She now felt with double poignancy the conviction that ſhe was the original cauſe of his ſufferings, when ſhe could no longer relieve them. To the mental tortures ſhe endured, muſt be attributed thoſe extraordinary and premature infirmities to which ſhe was a victim. In the courſe of a few years her perſonal charms had wholly diſappeared; her voice was gone; her eyes, once remarkable for their beauty, had now ſtarted from their ſockets, and ſhe was threatened with total blindneſs; ſhe nearly loſt

loſt the uſe of her arms and hands; ſcarcely could ſhe with her left hand raiſe the right to a certain height, and even this not without extreme pain; and the weakneſs of her legs was exceſſive. Never did deſpair and grief produce ſuch fatal effects on any one whoſe life they had ſpared; and as ſhe ſurvived theſe cruel attacks, it is natural to conclude that the deſire and hope ſhe felt of ſtill being uſeful to him for whom ſhe endured ſuch ſufferings, inſpired her with a ſupernatural ſtrength and reſolution.

'A ſingular circumſtance, and which proves how dark a veil was thrown over the whole of this affair, is, that the public, though witneſſes of the phyſical afflictions ſhe laboured under, had no idea of the cauſe, and ſometimes even aſcribed them to the eccentric caſt of her character. "She has become what ſhe is," people affirmed, "entirely by her own attempt to diſfigure herſelf. Her character is ſo ſtrange and eccentric, that ſhe wilfully miſapplied the remedies preſcribed for her recovery, and this for the ſole purpoſe of rendering herſelf hideous and infirm, even at the riſk of her life."

'She was accuſed of extraordinary eccentricity of character, becauſe, in fact, ſhe poſſeſſed an extraordinary underſtanding; though, at the ſame time, it muſt be admitted that her temper, owing to the violence and duration of her afflictions, had altered conſiderably for the worſe. A woman of more gentle and pleaſing manners, or of a more ingenuous temper, than ſhe had been in her early years, was not to be met with: but theſe qualities ſhe had now exchanged for a ſeverity that knew no intervals of indulgence; that was prompt to preſume evil rather than good, and exerted its influence the more ſenſibly as her turn for epigram made her ſpleen more eaſily felt.

'Of all the predilections of her youth, her taſte for reading was the only one ſhe retained, with this variation, however, that ſhe now read only books on philoſophical or ſerious ſubjects, and entirely laid aſide thoſe of mere amuſement. She had alſo abandoned her muſic, the art which ſhe formerly more than any other cultivated, and in which ſhe moſt excelled: a terrible example of the effects produced on the human frame by the conſtant diſappointment of a violent paſſion.' IV. 220. *et ſeq.*

Such was the miſerable object whom Frederic ſaw daily pining away before his eyes, under a complication of ills produced by his own conduct, while his affection for her remained as conſtant and tender as before. After Trenck had lingered in his dungeon for above ten years, the Empreſs Queen, at the inſtance of the Princeſs, applied for his liberation. The King could not refuſe, and ſet him at liberty, with ſtrict orders to quit the country for ever. The manner in which this interpoſition of Maria Thereſa was effected, and the perpetual vigilance of the Princeſs to the caſe of the ſufferer, form an affecting and curious part of theſe volumes. We ſhall only preſent our readers with the melancholy picture of

the interview which he had with this cruelly injured woman, after the death of Frederic permitted him to return.

'On arriving at Berlin, it may be eaſily imagined his firſt and moſt eager object was to viſit the lady who had been the cauſe of his misfortunes. Alas! what language could deſcribe the interview? It laſted for ſome hours, and was conſecrated to mutual tears. The paſt, the preſent, the future was reviewed, without alleviation to their ſorrows! What perplexities, what griefs were theirs! What a perſpective lay before them! Trenck, his hair bleached with age; his body curved with the weight of ſixty pounds of iron, which for ten years had hung from it; his features changed by grief: this was the man who, in his youth, had diſplayed ſo ſuperb a perſon, and whoſe image ſhe had ſo faithfully preſerved! He, on the other hand, beheld in her, for whom he had ſuffered ſo much, a female prematurely old like himſelf; a head entirely bald, and ſhaking ſo as ſcarcely to ſupport itſelf; a face diſfigured and ghaſtly in its expreſſion, and miſerably wrinkled; eyes diſtorted, dim, and haggard; a form that tottered with feebleneſs upon limbs unable, through contortion and diſeaſe, any longer to perform their office. How, in ſo changed a being, was he to retrace the object of his affection, whom he had left in the bloom of youth, with features the moſt regular, a complexion the moſt dazzling, the moſt bewitching graces of air and perſon, all the charms and attractions of the moſt captivating phyſiognomy and moſt conſummate beauty! And how, in the accents of auſtere affliction, the cold unfeeling train of reaſoning, the words of deſperation and diſtruſt that now eſcaped her, in the harſh illiberal ſpirit in which ſhe now judged of men and things, —could he recal the rich ſallies of imagination which ſo often had enchanted him! Where were now the impetuoſity of youthful gaiety, the ſweetneſs of her manners, the enjoyment of the fleeting moment, and the rapturous dreams of future bliſs! Alas! every thing now is dead! Each finds in the other a ſhrunk, emaciated form! What efforts were neceſſary on either ſide to ſuſtain ſo dreadful a ſhock!

'In this moment of trial, the reſolution of the lady proved ſuperior to that of Trenck. She led the converſation in ſuch a manner as to make it ſerve the purpoſe of diverting for the time their common ſorrow, and mutually communicating the ſtory of their paſt ſufferings: ſhe inquired into every particular of his ſituation; the nature of his preſent reſources and his future hopes; how many children he had, and their different ages; what manner of education he adopted for them.—She next aſſured him, ſhe would do whatever lay in her power for them, and promiſed to take his eldeſt girl under her roof in quality of a companion. It was in this ſpirit that they ſeparated, to ſee each other no more.' IV. 241. *et ſeq.*

Having contemplated this monarch in the relations of domeſtic life, it is now fit that we ſhould view him among his friends. Of theſe, there was abſolutely not one whom he did not treat with exemplary harſhneſs, except Jordan, who indeed lived only a few years

years after Frederic came to the throne, while he was too much occupied with war to allow him time for mixing with that ſelect ſociety, in which he afterwards vainly hoped to enjoy the pleaſures of entire equality, and where always, ſooner or later, the King prevailed over the companion. Of all his friends, the Marquis d'Argens ſeems to have been the moſt cordially and reſpectfully attached to his perſon.

'On the occurrence of any difficulty, and on the eve of every battle, the ſolicitude of this loyal courtier was extreme: he might even be ſaid to be beſide himſelf. His correſpondence with the king was as regular as circumſtances would allow of, and they uſually paſſed their time in each other's company when Frederic was in winter quarters. At one time the monarch had no confident but d'Argens, to whoſe ſympathy he could open his heart, his old aſſociates being for the moſt part dead, and his relations on bad terms with him, becauſe he perſiſted firmly in refuſing their united and earneſt requeſt that he ſhould demand a peace of France.

'It was in this painful ſtate of things that Frederic, ſeeing Pruſſia and Pomerania in the hands of the Ruſſians, Sileſia and Brandenburg in great part occupied by the Auſtrians, and Weſtphalia by the French; finding himſelf too but feebly aſſiſted by his allies; his armies nearly annihilated, no leſs through his victories than his defeats; himſelf without money or reſources;—reſolved on committing an act of ſuicide. This meaſure he communicated to the Marquis d'Argens, in a letter which he called his farewell letter. D'Argens, on the receipt of it, ſhut himſelf in his cloſet, and paſſed the night in framing a reply, which he ſent off before day-break. In this epiſtle, which was written with all the overflowing of the warmeſt friendſhip, Frederic contemplated at once the language of philoſophy; the reſources and the hopes held out to him by political ſcience; in fine, the fortitude and energy with which the love of glory and of virtue can inſpire a truly noble mind.

'The preparations for death were laid aſide: a new battle was hazarded, in which Frederic gained a complete victory, and afterward found means to provide for his moſt preſſing neceſſities, again to become the dread of his enemies, and to conclude a peace upon his own terms.' V. 333.

Our author enumerates the cauſes which prepared the termination of this exemplary friendſhip. They chiefly reſolve themſelves into that unbounded familiarity with which the King delighted to treat his aſſociates for a certain time, but which he was always ſure to abuſe, when he ſaw that they received it as he intended they ſhould. The pretext for finally diſcarding his ancient companion, was poor in the extreme. When the Marquis conſented to come into Frederic's ſervice, and leave his own country, it was upon the expreſs condition that he ſhould have permiſſion to return home when he reached the age of ſeventy.

He had a brother in France, to whom he was tenderly attached, and owed many obligations. As he approached this period of life, his brother prepared a houſe and eſtabliſhment for his reception; and nothing was wanting but the King's leave to make him retire from a ſervice to which he was now ill adapted by his years, and rendered averſe by the coldneſs daily more apparent in the treatment he received. But Frederic, notwithſtanding the bargain, and in ſpite of his diminiſhed attachment to this faithful follower, peremptorily refuſed to grant his diſcharge; he allowed him a ſort of furlough to ſee his brother, and took his promiſe to return in ſix months. When the viſit was paid, and the Marquis had arrived at Bourg on his return, the exertions which he made to get back within the ſtipulated time, threw him into a dangerous illneſs. As ſoon as the ſix months expired, Frederic receiving no letter, and hearing nothing of him, became violently enraged, ordered his penſions to be ſtopped, and his name to be ſtruck off the liſts with diſgrace. The account of theſe precipitate meaſures reached the Marquis as he was on the point of continuing his journey after his recovery. And when he died, the King cauſed a monument to be raiſed to his memory, as a proof that he repented of his harſh and haſty proceedings againſt him.

The treatment which Marſhal Schwerin met with for gaining the battle of Molwitz, is well known. In order to execute the manœuvre upon which the victory depended, it was neceſſary that the King ſhould retire from the field at a moment when ſucceſs was almoſt deſpaired of. He conſented; the tide was turned by the conſummate ſkill of the General. Ever after, Frederic treated him with marked coldneſs; neglected him as far as the neceſſity of claiming aſſiſtance from his genius would permit; and finally, was the cauſe of his expoſing himſelf to certain deſtruction at the battle of Prague, where this great maſter of the art of war fell undiſtinguiſhed in the crowd, leaving his family to the neglect of an ungrateful ſovereign, and his memory to be honoured by the enemy whom he conquered.*

After Frederic had quarrelled with Voltaire, he heard of a Chevalier Maſſon, whoſe wit and accompliſhments were repreſented as ſufficient to replace thoſe which he had juſt loſt by his vanity and caprice. It was with difficulty that this gentleman could be induced to quit the French ſervice, in which he ſtood high; and when he arrived at Berlin, though it very ſoon became

* The monument erected in the neighbourhood of Prague, upon the ſpot where the greateſt of the Pruſſian captains fell, was raiſed by the Emperor Joſeph II.

became apparent that Voltaire's place was not one of thoſe which are ſo eaſily ſupplied, yet he had qualities ſufficient to recommend him, and was admitted inſtantly to the royal circles. A ſingle indiſcreet ſally of wit ruined him in the King's favour. He retired in diſguſt to his ſtudy, where he lived the life of a hermit for many years;—his exiſtence unknown to the world, and the moſt important of its concerns equally unknown to him. As he had thus ſacrificed all his proſpects to accept of Frederic's patronage, and had waſted the prime of his life in attending upon his capricious pleaſure, it might have been expected that he would at leaſt have been permitted to enjoy his poor penſion, ſo dearly purchaſed, to the end of his inoffenſive days. But after twenty years of ſecluſion, ſuch as we have deſcribed, he had his name ſuddenly ſtruck from the liſts, and his appointments ſtopped, and was obliged to ſeek his own country with the ſavings which his parſimony had enabled him to make.

The ſame ſelfiſh ſpirit, or careleſsneſs towards the feelings and claims of others, which marked Frederic's conduct to his family and friends, was equally conſpicuous in his treatment of inferior dependants, both in the relations of ſociety and of buſineſs. In his familiar intercourſe with thoſe whom he permitted to approach him, we can find no line ſteadily drawn for the regulation of his own demeanour, or of theirs. His inclination ſeems to have been, that he ſhould always maintain the manifeſt ſuperiority, without owing it in appearance to his exalted ſtation; but as ſoon as he loſt, or was near loſing, this firſt place in a conteſt upon fair terms, he was ready ſuddenly to call in the aid of the King. Thus it perpetually happened, that a converſation, begun upon an equal footing, was terminated by a ſingle look of authority from the Royal companion. He never failed to indulge his ſarcaſtic humour and high ſpirits in ſallies directed with little delicacy or diſcrimination againſt all around him; and unleſs he happened to have, at the moment, ſuch anſwers as might, without any poſſibility of reſiſtance, cruſh thoſe whom his railleries had forced into a repartee, he was ſure to ſupply the defect by an appeal to weapons which he alone of the circle could uſe. It is not deſcribing his behaviour correctly, to ſay that in the hours of relaxation he was fond of forgetting the monarch, provided his company never forgot him. This would at leaſt have been one general rule, one principle of behaviour to which all might conform as ſoon as it was made known. But Frederic laid down and took up his ſceptre at moments which his gueſts could never divine; and, far from inſiſting that they ſhould always have it in their eyes, it would often have been a ground for his uſing it to ſtop the colloquy, if he had perceived them perſevere in addreſſing the ſovereign, when he was determined

mined they ſhould talk to a comrade. The only rule then of his ſociety, was entire ſubmiſſion to his caprices; not merely a paſſive obedience, but a compliance with every whim and turn of his mind; ſometimes requiring to be met with exertions, ſometimes to be received in quiet. It was impoſſible for the moſt harmleſs and unreſiſting of mortals always to eſcape the effects of his unmanly temper; and even M. Thiebault himſelf was ſometimes the object of his ſallies, though he adopted one rule invariably, to keep his eyes and ears all open when the king either liſtened or ſpoke, and, at the firſt ſemblance of riſing humour, to aſſume 'a modeſt and humble attitude,' and ſink into ſilence. That we may form ſome idea of the nature and extent of this meanneſs, ſo poor in one who called himſelf a Royal Philoſopher, it is proper to remark, that all thoſe wits or other dependants with whom he paſſed his time, were entirely ſupported by his penſions; and that, beſides the dangers of a fortreſs, any reſiſtance was ſure to coſt them and their families their daily bread.

His ordinary mode of enjoying ſociety was, to ſend for a few of the philoſophers, who were always in readineſs, either when he dined, or had an hour's leiſure from buſineſs, which he wiſhed to beguile by the recreations of talking and receiving worſhip. On one of theſe occaſions, the *ſavants* in waiting were, Quintus Icilius * and Thiebault; and it happened that the king, after giving his opinion at great length, and with his uſual freedom, upon the arrangement of Providence, which conceals from mortals the period of their lives, called upon them to urge whatever could be ſtated in its defence. Quintus, unwarily ſuppoſing that he really wiſhed to hear the queſtion diſcuſſed, gave a reaſon, which appears completely ſatisfactory. The Philoſopher of Sans-Souci, however, only deſired his gueſts to take the oppoſite ſide of the argument, in the conviction that they were not to invalidate his own reaſoning. And when Quintus fairly deſtroyed the force of it, by ſuggeſting, that the certain knowledge of our latter end would infallibly diminiſh the ardour of our exertions for a conſiderable period beforehand, the king thought proper to break out into a violent perſonal invective, 'Ici,' ſays Thiebault, 'la foudre partit auſſi ſubite qu'imprevue.' '*Cette façon de juger*,' lui dit le Roi, '*eſt bonne pour vous, âme de boue et de fange! Mais apprenez, ſi toutefois vous le pouvez, que ceux qui ont l'âme*

* This was a Leyden profeſſor, originally named Guichard, who being fond of military ſcience, had been transformed into a colonel of chaſſeurs by the king; and then, from his admiration of Cæſar's aid-du-camp, had been ordered to aſſume the name of Quintus Icilius.

l'âme noble, elevée, et ſenſible aux charmes de la vertu, ne raiſonnent point ſur des maximes auſſi miſerables et auſſi honteuſes! Apprenez, Monſieur, que l'honnête homme fait toujours le bien tant qu'il peut le faire, et uniquement parce que c'eſt le bien, ſans rechercher quels ſont ceux qui en profiteront; mais vous ne ſentez point ces choſes; vous n'êtes point fait pour les ſentir.' It may convey almoſt as exact an idea of M. Thiebault, as the above anecdote does of Frederic, if we add the words with which he concludes it: 'Cette terrible apoſtrophe m'aneantit preſqu'autant que celui qui en étoit l'objet. J'en fus d'autant plus troublé que le Colonel n'avoit rien dit que je n'approuvaſſe dans le fond de l'âme.' Vol. I. p. 84.

When he ſubmitted to our author's correction the language of a diſcourſe which he had compoſed for the Academy, and received his obſervations in a private audience, there was one ſoleciſm ſo glaring that he utterly loſt his temper, and defended it bitterly. M. Thiebault, whoſe profeſſional character being at ſtake, gave him an unuſual courage upon this occaſion, ventured to hold out againſt all his arguments. The king, in a rage ſeized his pen, and violently ſubſtituted another phraſe, which unluckily was ſtill worſe French. Our author again dared to remonſtrate. The following extract preſents a curious ſketch, both of the king and the ſubject.

'This new criticiſm ſet him off altogether; he inſtantly became red with anger; his whole phyſiognomy aſſumed a furious and menacing expreſſion, like that of a man who is about to commit the greateſt exceſſes. He threw down the pen, ſaying, "Then the phraſe muſt be left as it is." I am perſuaded he was never more completely beſide himſelf on the occaſions when he ſo far forgot his dignity as to kick the ſhins of the perſons about him. I however had no apprehenſions of receiving from him a ſimilar outrage, for I relied for my protection on the circumſtance of my being a foreigner, Frederic never having committed it but upon his own ſubjects. But I did expect that he would have ſent me from his preſence, never again to be recalled. My ſituation was extremely painful; but I preſerved both my compoſure and tranquillity, conſcious that I was performing my duty: it was therefore not very difficult to accompliſh the reſolution I made of juſtifying my conduct, and ſhewing myſelf for what I really was, previous to my diſmiſſal. To this effect, my exterior appearance indicated that I confined myſelf within the bounds which decorum preſcribed; my manner expreſſed ſorrow without dejection; my voice was that of a man deeply affected, but inflexible; and in a low, deliberate tone, my eyes fixed on the ground, and my body in a modeſt, ſimple, and fixed attitude, I ſaid, "I moſt humbly and earneſtly entreat your majeſty to have the goodneſs to conſider that I have neither calling nor means of ſubſiſtence for the ſupport of myſelf and my family but through your majeſty. From your bounty, Sire, it is that I derive all I poſſeſs." &c. I. 151.

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This moſt ſubmiſſive expoſtulation, which laſted for ſome time, brought the king to himſelf, and he coldly adopted the emendation of M. Thiebault, who does not fail to expreſs his admiration of ſuch greatneſs of ſoul, and his ſatisfaction at his own narrow eſcape.

At one of his literary entertainments, when, in order to promote free converſation, he reminded the circle that there was no monarch preſent, and that every one might think aloud, the converſation chanced to turn upon the faults of different governments and rulers. General cenſures were paſſing from mouth to mouth, with the kind of freedom which ſuch hints were calculated, and apparently intended to inſpire. But Frederic ſuddenly put a ſtop to the topic by theſe words,—'*Paix! paix! Meſſieurs; prenez garde, voilà le roi qui arrive; il ne faut pas qu'il vous entend, car peut-être ſe croiroit-il obligé d'être encore plus méchant que vous.*' V. 329.

Theſe ſketches may ſerve to illuſtrate the conduct of Frederic in *ſociety*, and to ſhew how far he could forget his power in his familiar intercourſe with inferiors. As yet, we have ſeen only caprice, and that meanneſs, or, to call it by the right name, cowardice, which conſiſts in trampling upon the fallen, and fighting with thoſe who are bound. His treatment of perſons employed in his *ſervice*, and his manner of tranſacting buſineſs with them, preſents us with equal proofs of a tyrannical diſpoſition, and examples of injuſtice and cruelty, altogether unparalleled in the hiſtory of civilized monarchies. It is well known that a large proportion of the Pruſſian army owes its origin to a ſyſtem of crimping, which the recruiting officers carry on in foreign ſtates, and chiefly in the diſtant parts of the empire. As Frederic II. did not introduce this odious practice, he might, perhaps, be allowed to eſcape ſevere cenſure for not aboliſhing it in general; but there can be only one opinion upon his conduct in thoſe particular caſes which came to his knowledge, and where his attention was ſpecifically called to the grievous injuries ſuſtained by individuals. Of the many anecdotes which M. Thiebault has preſerved, relative to this point, we ſhall only refer to one as a ſpecimen. A French Captain of cavalry, returning to his native country, after a long abſence in the Weſt Indies, was ſeized, in his journey along the Rhine, by ſome Pruſſian recruiting officers: his ſervant was ſpirited away, and he was himſelf ſent to the army as a private ſoldier, in which capacity he was forced to ſerve during the reſt of the Seven-years war, againſt the cauſe, be it remarked, of his own country. In vain he addreſſed letter after letter to his friends, acquainting them of his cruel ſituation; the Pruſſian poſt office was too well regulated

regulated to let any of these pass. His constant memorials to the King were received indeed, but not answered. After the peace was concluded, he was marched with his regiment into garrison; and at the next review, the King, coming up to his Colonel, inquired if a person named M—— was still in the corps. Upon his being produced, the King offered him a commission; he declined it, and received his discharge. It was thus that Frederic obtained, by kidnapping, the troops whom he used in plundering his neighbours. His finances were frequently indebted to similar means for their supply. M. Thiebault inserts several curious details on the operations which the Prussian coin underwent during this reign; and one of the anecdotes well deserves a place here. The King's favourite secretary M. Galser, by his orders, caused fifteen millions of ducats to be made in a very secret manner, with a third of base metal in their composition. This sum was then entrusted to a son of the Jew Ephraim, so well known in the history of Frederic's coinage, for the purpose of having it circulated in Poland, where it was accordingly employed in buying up every portable article of value that could be found. The Poles, however, soon discovered that they had been imposed upon, and contrived to transfer the loss to their neighbours, by purchasing with the new ducats whatever they could procure in Russia. The Russians, in like manner, found out the cheat, and complained so loudly, that the Empress interfered, and made inquiries, which led to a discovery of the quarter whence the issue had originally come. She then ordered the bad money to be brought into her treasury, and exchanged it for good coin. She insisted upon Frederic taking the false ducats at their nominal value, which he did not dare to refuse, but denied that he had any concern in the transaction; and to prove this, sent for his agent Galser, to whom he communicated the dilemma in which he was, and the necessity of giving him up as the author of the imposture. Galser objected to so dishonourable a propósal. The King flew into a passion; kicked him violently on the shins, according to his custom; sent him to the fortress of Spandaw for a year and a half, and then banished him to a remote village of Mecklenburg. M. Thiebault praises his hero for the choice of this place: it was the residence of Galser's brother, to whom he had behaved rather ill during his prosperity; 'and the King thus testified,' says our author, 'his respect for good morals, in punishing unbrotherly conduct.' It must, indeed, have been very edifying to this unfortunate person, to receive such a lesson from so pure a quarter.

Frederic acted towards his officers upon a principle the most unjust, as well as unfeeling, that can be imagined. It was his aim to

to encourage military ſervice among the higher ranks: the commonalty, he conceived, were adapted for all the meaner employments in the ſtate, and ſhould not occupy thoſe ſtations in the army, which were, he thought, the birthright of the ariſtocracy. But inſtead of carrying this view into effect, by the only arrangement which was reconcileable with good faith—eſtabliſhing a certain ſtandard of rank below which no one ſhould be admitted to hold a commiſſion either in peace or war—he allowed perſons of all deſcriptions to enter the army as officers, when there was any occaſion for their ſervices, and, after the neceſſity had ceaſed, diſmiſſed thoſe whoſe nobility appeared queſtionable. Thus, nothing could be more terrible to the brave men, who for years had led his troops to victory, or ſhared in their diſtreſſes, than the return of peace. After ſacrificing their proſpects in life, their beſt years, their health, with their eaſe, to the moſt painful ſervice, and ſought, through toils, and wounds, and miſery, the proviſion which a certain rank in the profeſſion affords, they were liable, at a moment's warning, to be turned ignominiouſly out of the army, whoſe fortunes they had followed, becauſe the King either diſcovered, or fancied, that their family was deficient in quarters. M. Thiebault affirms, that when he purſued his pityleſs ſyſtem after the termination of the Seven-years war, only one *roturier* was left in commiſſion, to his knowledge; and this plan of clearing the army was ſo rigorouſly followed, that at each review, the King examined thoſe who had been promoted ſince the laſt; inquired into the circumſtances of their families; and unleſs they were either foreigners, or noble, deprived them of their rank on the ſpot. Nor was a parentage the moſt reſpectable of any avail: even authenticated documents of their titles did not always ſave them. This father of his people would often return ſuch proofs to the veterans who had bled for his crown, and ſaucily tell them, '*que ces paperaſſes ne ſignifioient rien; qu'il ſavoit à quoi s'en tenir: et qu'en un mot ils n'etoient que roturiers.*'

We ſhall paſs over the extreme jealouſy with which the king treated all thoſe in whom he was forced to confide any matters of ſtate. Nothing, in the hiſtory of eaſtern manners, exceeds the rigorous confinement of the cabinet ſecretaries. But we ſhall proceed to an example, of the reſpect which the Juſtinian of the North, the author of the Frederician code, paid to the perſons of thoſe entruſted with the adminiſtration of juſtice in his dominions. This great legiſlator ſeems never to have diſcovered the propriety of leaving his judges to inveſtigate the claims of ſuitors, any more than he could ſee the advantage of committing to tradeſmen and farmers the management of their private affairs. In the progreſs which he made round his ſtate at the ſeaſon of the reviews,

views, he uſed to receive from all quarters the complaints of thoſe who thought themſelves aggrieved by the courſe of juſtice; and becauſe he had to conſider the whole of theſe caſes, in addition to all the other branches of his employment, he concluded that he muſt be a more competent arbiter than they whoſe lives are devoted to the ſettlement of a part of ſuch diſputes. In one of his excurſions, a miller, a tenant of his own, complained to him that his ſtream was injured by a neighbouring proprietor; and the king ordered his chancellor to have the complaint inveſtigated. The ſuit was brought in form, and given againſt the miller. Next year, he renewed his application, and affirmed that his narrative of the facts was perfectly true; yet the court had nonſuited him. The king remitted the cauſe to the ſecond tribunal, with injunctions to be careful in doing the man juſtice: he was, however, again caſt; and once more complained bitterly to the king, who ſecretly ſent a major of his army to examine on the ſpot the queſtion upon which his two higheſt judicatures had decided, and to report. The gallant officer, who was alſo a neighbour of the miller, reported in his favour; and two other perſons, commiſſioned in the ſame private manner, returned with ſimilar anſwers. Frederic immediately ſummoned his chancellor and the three judges who had determined the cauſe: he received them in a paſſion; would not allow them to ſpeak a word in their defence; upbraided them as unjuſt judges and miſcreants; and wrote out with his own hand a ſentence in favour of the miller, with full coſts, and a kind of damages which he had never claimed. He then diſmiſſed the chancellor from his office, with language too abuſive to be repeated; and, after violently kicking the three judges in the ſhins, puſhed them out of his cloſet, and ſent them to priſon at the fortreſs of Spandaw. All the other judges and miniſters of juſtice were clearly of opinion, that the ſentence againſt the miller was a right one, and that the caſe admitted of no doubt. As for the chancellor, it was univerſally allowed that the matter came not within his juriſdiction; and that he could not poſſibly have known any thing of the deciſion. At laſt a foreign journaliſt undertook the inveſtigation of the buſineſs; and, being placed beyond the limits of the royal philoſopher's caprice, he publiſhed a ſtatement which left no ſhadow of argument in the miller's favour. As Frederic attended to what was written abroad, and in French, Linguet's production quickly opened his eyes. Not a word was ſaid in public;—none of thoſe meaſures were adopted, by which a great mind would have rejoiced to acknowledge ſuch errors, and offer ſome atonement to outraged juſtice. An irritable vanity alone ſeemed poorly to regulate the ceremony of propitiation; and he who had been mean enough to inſult the perſons

ſons of his judges in the blindneſs of anger, could ſcarcely be expected, after his eyes were opened, to have that pride, which makes men ceaſe to deſerve blame, by avowing, while they atone for their faults. Orders were *ſecretly* given to the miller's adverſary, that he ſhould not obey the ſentence. With the ſame *ſecrecy*, a compenſation was made to the miller himſelf. The three judges, after lingering many months in priſon, were *quietly* liberated: the chancellor was allowed to remain in diſgrace, becauſe he had been moſt of all injured: and the faithful ſubjects of his majeſty knew too well their duty, and his power, to interrupt this paltry ſilence by any whiſpers upon what had paſſed.

From a view of the effects which attended the interference of the King with the buſineſs of the judicial department, we are naturally led to conſider the grand error of his whole internal adminiſtration,—his intermeddling and controuling ſpirit. This is indeed a miſtake, into which governors are always apt to fall, when they avoid the contrary, and perhaps ſafer, extreme of indifference to their duties. And he was not the moſt likely to ſteer a middle courſe, whoſe power had no limits; whoſe ideas of government were taken from the mechanical diſcipline of an army; and whoſe abilities ſo far exceeded the ordinary lot of royal underſtandings, that he ſeemed to have ſome grounds for thinking himſelf capable of every thing, while he deſpiſed the talents of every body elſe. Yet muſt it be allowed, that if all other proofs were wanting, this one undoubted imperfection in Frederic's nature, is a ſufficient ground for ranking him among inferior minds, and for denying him thoſe higher qualities of the underſtanding which render ſuch faculties beneficial, as he unqueſtionably poſſeſſed. A truly great genius will be the firſt to preſcribe limits for its own exertions; to diſcover the ſphere within which its powers muſt be concentrated in order to work; beyond which their diffuſion can only uſeleſsly dazzle. But this was a knowledge, and a ſelf-command, that Frederic never attained. Though the ignorance and weakneſs which he diſplayed, in the exceſſive government of his kingdom, were thrown into the ſhade by his military glory, or partially covered by his cleverneſs and activity, they require only to be viewed apart, in order to excite as much ridicule as was ever beſtowed on the Emperor Joſeph, whoſe ſyſtem of adminiſtration indeed greatly reſembled his neighbour's, unleſs that he had more leiſure to ſhew his good intentions by his blunders, and was guided by better principles in the proſecution of his never-ending plans. Like him, the Pruſſian ruler conceived that it was his duty to be eternally at work; to take every concern in his dominions upon his own ſhoulders; ſeldom to think men's intereſts

reſts ſafe when committed to themſelves, much leſs to delegate to his miniſters any portion of the ſuperintending power, which muſt yet be every where preſent, and conſtantly on the watch. Both of theſe princes knew enough of detail to give them a reliſh for affairs, but they were always waſting their exemplary activity in marring the concerns which belonged not to their department; and extending their knowledge of other people's trades, inſtead of forming an acquaintance with their own. While other monarchs were making a buſineſs of pleaſure, they made a pleaſure of buſineſs; but, utterly ignorant how much of their profeſſional duties reſolved into a wiſe choice of agents, with all their induſtry and wit, they were only miſmanaging a part of the work, and leaving the reſt undone; ſo that it may fairly be queſtioned whether their dominions would not have gained by the exchange, had their lives been ſquandered in the ſeraglio, and their affairs entruſted to cabinets of more quiet underſtandings. But although theſe eminent men were equally fond of planning and regulating, as they indulged their propenſity under different circumſtances, ſo their ſchemes were not purſued in the ſame manner, and have certainly been attended with different effects. Joſeph was a legiſlator and a projector, from the reſtleſſneſs of his ſpirit, and the want of preſſing affairs to employ his portion of talent. His meaſures were often rather buſy and needleſs, than ſeriouſly hurtful; and as the conception of a plan reſulted from his activity and idleneſs, he was ſtill vacant and reſtleſs after the ſteps had been taken for its execution, and generally ſtrangled it by his impatience to witneſs the fruits of his wiſdom; like the child who plants a bean, and plucks it up when it has ſcarcely ſprouted, to ſee how it is growing. Thus it happened, that many of his innovations were done away by himſelf, while others had no tendency to operate a change. Thoſe which were oppoſed, he only puſhed to a certain length, and then knew how to yield after miſchief had been done by the ſtruggle; but few of them ſurvived his own day; chiefly ſuch as anticipated, by a ſlight advance, the natural courſe of events. Frederic, on the other hand, was not placed in eaſy circumſtances; he was active from neceſſity, as much as from vanity; he was an adventurer, whoſe projects muſt be turned to ſome account; not an idle amateur, who can amuſe himſelf with forming a new ſcheme, after the others have failed. Although, then, like Joſeph, he could afford his deſigns little time to ripen, he forced ſomething out of them by new applications of power; thus bringing to a premature effect, operations in their own nature violent and untimely. Hence, his neceſſities, like his rival's idle impatience, allowed his plans no chance

chance of coming to perfection; but while Joſeph deſtroyed the ſcheme of yeſterday to make a new one, Frederic carried it forcibly into an imperfect execution before it was well laid. Add to this, that the power of the latter being more abſolute, and of a deſcription the beſt adapted for enforcing detailed commands, he was better enabled to carry his regulating and interfering ſyſtem againſt whatever oppoſition it might encounter, while his ſuperior firmneſs of character, and his freedom from the various checks which principle or feeling impoſed upon the Auſtrian monarch, precluded all eſcape from the rigour of his adminiſtration by any other than fraudulent means. Thus, the conſequences of his too much governing, of his miſerable views in finance, and his conſtant errors in the principles of commercial legiſlation, are to be traced at this day through the various departments of the Pruſſian ſtates. Nor can it be aſſerted in the preſent inſtance, that the powers of individual intereſt have ſufficed to produce their natural effects upon human induſtry in ſpite of the ſhackles by which it has been cramped.

The view, which every thing formerly known in the hiſtory of Europe, had led us to take of Frederic's adminiſtration, receives ſome very ſtriking illuſtrations from the anecdotes recorded in theſe volumes, with the uniform purpoſe of ſounding his praiſes. If any one is deſirous of ſeeing how certainly a government is unſucceſsful in trade and manufactures, he may conſult the ſketches of this boaſted ſtateſman's ſpeculations in that line, as profitably as the accounts which have been publiſhed of the Royal Works in Spain. But there are particulars in the policy of Frederic, exceeding, for abſurdity and violence, whatever is to be met with in the deſcriptions of Spaniſh economy. We have only room for running over a few detached examples.—When a china manufactory was to be ſet agoing at Berlin on the royal account, it was thought neceſſary to begin by forcing a market for the wares. Accordingly, the Jews, who cannot marry without the royal permiſſion, were obliged to pay for their licenſes by purchaſing a certain quantity of the King's cups and ſaucers at a fixed price. The introduction of the ſilk culture was a favourite ſcheme with Frederic; and to make ſilkworms ſpin, and mulberry-trees grow in the Pruſſian ſands, no expence muſt be ſpared. Vaſt houſes and manufactories were built for ſuch as choſe to engage in the ſpeculation; a direct premium was granted on the exportation of ſilk ſtuffs; and medals awarded to the workmen who produced above five pounds of the article in a year. But nature is very powerful, even among Pruſſian grenadiers. In the liſts of exports we find no mention made of ſilk, while it forms a conſiderable, and a regular

lar branch of the goods imported. The settlement of colonists in waste lands, was another object of eminent attention, and proportionate expence. Foreign families were enticed and transported by the crimps whom he employed all over Europe for recruiting his forces; they received grants of land; were provided with houses, implements and live-stock, and furnished with subsistence, until their farms became sufficiently productive to support them. Frederic called this supplying the blanks which war made in his population. His rage for encouraging the introduction of new speculations was quite ungovernable. No sooner did his emissaries inform him of any ingenious manufacturer or mechanic, in France or elsewhere, than he bribed him to settle in Berlin, by the most extravagant terms. When he found the success of the project too slow, or its gains, from the necessity of circumstances, fell short of expectation, he had only one way of getting out of the scrape;—he broke his bargain with the undertaker, and generally sent him to a fortress; in the course of which transaction, it always happened that somebody interfered, under the character of a minister, a favourite, &c. to pillage both parties. Experience never seemed to correct this propensity. It was at an advanced period of his reign that he sent orders to his ambassadors to find him a general projector, a man who might be employed wholly in fancying new schemes, and discussing those which should be submitted to him. Such a one was accordingly procured, and tempted, by large bribes, to settle at Potsdam. Frederic's grand instrument in political economy was the establishment of monopolies. Whether an art was to be encouraged, or a public taste modified, or a revenue gleaned, or the balance of trade adjusted, a monopoly was the expedient. Thus the exclusive privilege was granted to one family, of supplying Berlin and Potsdam with firewood; the price was instantly doubled; and the King received no more than eight thousand a year of the profits. Well did the celebrated Helvetius remark of some applications for such contracts, upon which the King demanded his sentiments, 'Sire, you need not trouble yourself with reading them through—they all speak the same language.—"*We beseech your Majesty to grant us leave to rob your people of such a sum; in consideration of which, we engage to pay you a certain share of the pillage.*" Frederic was led to conceive that his subjects drank too much coffee in proportion to their means, and ate too little nourishing food. The universal remedy was applied; and the supply of all the coffee used within his dominions given exclusively to a company. The price was thus, as he had wished, greatly raised, and some of the spoil shared with his treasury; but the taste of the people remained as determined in

favour of coffee as before; and, of courſe, was much more detrimental to their living. Tobacco, in like manner, he ſubjected to a ſtrict monopoly; and when he wiſhed to have arms furniſhed very cheap to his troops, he had again recourſe to his uſual expedient:—he conferred upon the houſe of Daum and Splikberg, armourers, the excluſive privilege of refining ſugar, on condition that they ſhould ſell him muſkets and caps at a very low price. In all his fiſcal policy he was an anxious obſerver of the balance of trade, and never failed to caſt a penſive eye upon the tables of exports and imports. 'Every year' (ſays his panegyriſt) 'did he calculate with extreme attention the ſums which came into his ſtates, and thoſe which went out; and he ſaw, with uneaſineſs, that the balance was not ſo favourable as it ought to be.' (IV. 127.) After all his monopolies and premiums for the encouragement of production, he found, it ſeems, that the exports of his kingdom could not be augmented. 'Therefore,' adds our author, 'he had only one reſource left,—to diminiſh the importation,' (p. 128.); which he accordingly attempted, by new monopolies and prohibitions. We ſhall conclude this ſketch of the domeſtic economy of Frederic, in the words of M. Thiebault, premiſing only that they are intended for the picture of a perfect adminiſtration.

'Tous les ans des conſeillers parcourent tous les villages, et examinent ſi chaque habitant cultive la portion de ſon terrain qu'il eſt tenu de cultiver d'après les ordonnances. Chaque habitant eſt obligé de mettre tous les ans en culture telle quantité d'arpens ſur le nombre total qu'il en a. Ainſi tout eſt vu, ſurveillé, protegé et maintenu en bon ordre; et tout ce qui intereſſe l'adminiſtration proprement dite, irent ſe concentrer au grand directoire.' IV. 47.

It remains, before completing our eſtimate of Frederic's character, that we ſhould recollect his public conduct in the commonwealth of Europe, where he was born to hold ſo conſpicuous a ſtation. And here, while we wonder at the abilities which led him to ſucceſs, it is impoſſible not to admit that they belonged to that inferior order which can brook an alliance with profligacy of principle. The hiſtory of the Pruſſian monarchy, indeed, is that of an empire ſcraped together by induſtry, and fraud, and violence, from neighbouring ſtates. By barter, and conqueſt, and impoſture, its manifold diſtricts have been gradually brought under one dynaſty: not a patch of the motley maſs, but recals the venality or weakneſs of the ſurrounding powers, and the unprincipled uſurpations of the houſe of Brandenburgh. But it was Frederic II, whoſe ſtrides ſo far ſurpaſſed thoſe of his anceſtors, as raiſed his family to the rank of a primary power; enabled him to baffle the coalition which his ambition had raiſed

againſt

againſt him; and to form, himſelf, a new conſpiracy for the deſtruction of whatever principles had been held moſt ſacred by the potentates of modern times. It is in vain that we diſſemble with ourſelves, and endeavour to forget our own conduct at that fatal criſis. We may rail at Jacobiniſm, and the French Revolution—impute to the timidity of the other powers the inſolent dominion of France—and exhauſt our effeminate licenſe of tongue upon the chief, who, by wielding her deſtinies, is maſter of half the world. Europe is now ſuffering for the Partition of Poland. Then it was that public principles were torn up and ſcattered before the uſurpers of the day;—then it was that England and France poorly refuſed to ſuſpend their mutual animoſities, and aſſociate in ſupport of right, when other ſtates, forgetting greater jealouſies, were combined to violate the law;—then it was that power became the meaſure of duty—that ambition learnt all the leſſons which it has ſince been practiſing, of *arrondiſſements*, and equivalents, and indemnities—that an aſſurance of impunity and ſucceſs were held out to thoſe who might afterwards abandon all principles, provided they were content with a ſhare of the plunder. While we look back with deteſtation, then, to the conduct of thoſe powers who perpetrated the crime, and moſt of all to Frederic who contrived it, let us alſo reflect, with ſhame, on the puſillanimity of thoſe who ſaw, yet helped not; and, in juſtice to the memory of a truly *great* man, let us bear in mind, that he, who afterwards warned us againſt the uſurpations of France at their nearer approach, raiſed his voice againſt the dereliction of principle which paved the way for them in the partition of Poland.

In the work before us, we find little light thrown upon this moſt criminal part of Frederic's character. The trick upon which he grounded his reaſon for drawing an army round the frontiers, is narrated with much complacency. It took ſo well, ſays our author, that the citizens of Berlin prepared themſelves againſt the plague, as if it had been at their gates. We are told, too, that Prince Henry highly diſapproved of the ſecond partition, on motives of policy; and, indeed, the reaſons which ſuggeſted themſelves to him will probably, ere long, be felt by his nephew. But this is the puniſhment due to the power which hatched that wickedneſs; and if, which is moſt likely, Frederic William had no choice in the laſt acts of it, this ſhould have been foreſeen by him who began it. There is one paſſage in his life, recorded by M. Thiebault, which ſtruck us as ſufficiently illuſtrative of the extreme want of principle that marked this Prince's conduct to foreign ſtates. In the inſtructions, written with his own hand, for his favourite academy of nobles and offi-

ecrs, he tells the profeſſor of public law, 'Toutefois il avertira la jeuneſſe que ce droit public, manquant de puiſſance corrective pour le faire obſerver, n'eſt qu'un vain fantôme que les ſouverains etalent dans leurs manifeſtes, lors même qu'ils le violent.' V. 159.

Upon the whole, then, we turn from a minute view of this famous perſonage, impreſſed with no veneration for his character, either as a member of ſociety, a ruler of the people, or a part of the European community. That he poſſeſſed the talents of an accompliſhed warrior, and an elegant wit, it would be abſurd either to deny, or to demonſtrate. He has left us, in his victories and his writings, the beſt proofs; and from the work before us, we are even led to think that his converſation ſurpaſſed his more careful efforts. His adminiſtration was ſingularly marked by promptitude and energy. Wherever active exertion was required, or could ſecure ſucceſs, he was likely to prevail; and as he was in all things a maſter of thoſe inferior abilities, which conſtitute what we denominate addreſs, it is not wonderful that he was uniformly fortunate in the cabinets of his neighbours. The encouragements which he laviſhed on learned men were uſeful, though not always ſkilfully beſtowed; and in this, as in all the departments of his government, we ſee him conſtantly working miſchief by working too much. His academy was no leſs under command than the beſt diſciplined regiment in his ſervice; and did not refuſe to acknowledge his authority upon matters of opinion or taſte. His own literary acquirements were limited to the *belles lettres*, and moral ſcience; even, of theſe, he was far from being completely maſter. His practice, as an adminiſtrator, is inconſiſtent with an extenſive or ſound political knowledge; and his acquaintance with the claſſics was derived from French tranſlations: he knew very little Latin, and no Greek. To his ſprightlineſs in ſociety, and his love of literary company, ſo rare in princes, he owes the reputation of a philoſopher; and to the ſucceſs of his intrigues and his arms, the appellation of Great:—a title which is the leſs honourable, that mankind have generally agreed to beſtow it upon thoſe to whom gratitude was leaſt of all due.

ART. XVI. *The Horrors of the Negro Slavery exiſting in our Weſt India Iſlands, demonſtrated from Official Documents recently preſented to the Houſe of Commons.* 8vo. Hatchard. London. 1805.

WE have ſo frequently had occaſion to enter at length into the important queſtions of Weſt Indian policy, and have, in particular, taken ſo many opportunities of conſidering the great argument upon the Slave Trade, that we ſhall henceforth only deem it neceſſary

neceſſary to direct the attention of our readers to ſuch new facts of importance, as may be brought to light in the courſe of this momentous diſcuſſion. The tract before us alludes to diſcoveries of that deſcription; and we have made it the ſubject of an article, for the purpoſe of earneſtly recommending its contents to the notice of all, who wiſh to have a full view of the conſequences that may be expected, from leaving the correction of the Weſt Indian ſyſtem to the Weſt Indians themſelves.

The papers, of which it gives an able and faithful analyſis, were laid before the Houſe of Commons during the laſt Seſſion of Parliament. They conſiſt of extracts from a correſpondence between the Secretary of State for the colonial department, and the Governors of the ſeveral Weſt Indian iſlands. The facts ſtated in theſe afflicting documents, are too ſolemnly authenticated to leave thoſe who feel for the honour of the ſpecies any hopes that the recital may have been exaggerated. We cannot bring ourſelves to ſhock our readers by even a ſketch of the details: we ſhall only point out to what part of the queſtion they bear reference.

Early in 1802, Miniſters received a letter from Lord Seaforth, Governor of Barbadoes, in which he ſtated, that he had highly offended the legiſlature of the iſland, by exhorting them to paſs a law, making the murder of a ſlave felony; that crime being at preſent only puniſhable by a fine of eleven pounds four ſhillings Sterling. * We are unwilling to dwell much on the circumſtance; but we do think it ſomewhat ſingular, that no notice of this communication was ever taken during Mr Addington's adminiſtration, and that it was only laid before Parliament in 1804; as if the ſentiments of men in England, upon the ſubject of murder, could be influenced by their general opinions on the queſtion of the ſlave trade.

* We regret that the very judicious and temperate author of this tract did not give the words of the law to which Lord Seaforth muſt allude in his correſpondence. It is, indeed, the only one in the code of Barbadoes upon this ſubject. In Act 329. § xxii. it is provided, that if any maſter kills or maims his ſlave in puniſhing him, or ordering him to be puniſhed ('which,' ſays the act, 'ſeldom happens'), no perſon ſhall be liable to fine; '*but if any man, of wantonneſs, or only of bloody-mindedneſs, or cruel intention, wilfully kill a negro or other ſlave,*' he ſhall pay 15l. currency (11l. 4s.)!—Thus we ſee, that the fine was conſidered as ſomething extraordinary and ſevere, requiring to be fenced with much care. The legiſlature of Bermuda paſſed a law, expreſsly after the example of this, unleſs that the penalty is only 10l. currency, and is introduced as an exception to the general enactment; for the title of the ſtatute is, '*An act for the ſecurity of the ſubject, to prevent the forfeiture of life and eſtate upon killing a negro or other ſlave.*'—See Report of Committee 1789, part III., and Laws of Barbadoes and Bermuda, printed in ſeparate volumes.

trade. The correſpondence was, however, purſued immediately upon Mr Pitt's acceſſion to office, and made public as ſoon as poſſible. Lord Seaforth tranſmits the account of ſeveral recent caſes of moſt atrocious murders, perpetrated upon negroes with a much greater wantonneſs than is ſhewn in the treatment of the lower animals by the people of this country; and witneſſed by the public in the iſland of Barbadoes, with only a ſurpriſe that ſuch incidents ſhould excite any feeling among ſtrangers. Theſe caſes, his Lordſhip ſays, are ſelected from a number, as ſpecimens; and he has authenticated them by the letters of the judges and crown lawyers of the colony. In none of them could any puniſhment be inflicted beyond the paltry fine above mentioned; and yet Lord Seaforth expreſſes no hopes of being able to procure an alteration of the law, ſince he cannot, by any means, induce the Aſſembly (that is, the men of property and rank in the community) to view the murder of a negro in the light of a crime, with whatever circumſtances of barbarity it may be attended. Here then is the anſwer to all thoſe who refer us to the enlightened legiſlatures of the iſlands for the abolition of the ſlave trade, or the remedy of the glaring evils in the colonial ſyſtem. If any thing could add to the force with which ſuch facts ſtrike home to the queſtion, it would be the circumſtance that Barbadoes is the oldeſt and moſt civilized of our colonies; and if the guilt of the Barbadians were ſuſceptible of aggravation, we might recollect, that they inhabit the iſland furtheſt removed from the danger of inſurrection, both by its local ſituation, and the great diſproportion of its black population.

But the official documents laid before Parliament have thrown light upon another part of the argument;—they have proved inconteſtably the truth of all that the friends of abolition ever urged, againſt the efficacy of any regulations which the colonial legiſlatures might adopt, or pretend to adopt, for improving the treatment of ſlaves. His Majeſty's Miniſters, upon being made acquainted with the facts reſpecting Barbadoes, which we have already obſerved were known to their predeceſſors, loſt no time in extending their inquiries to the other iſlands. Although the murder of a ſlave has, in theſe, been for ſome years capital, and that protecting laws for the negroes have frequently been paſſed when there was any queſtion of aboliſhing the trade in the mother country; yet we find, as was always predicted, that ſuch ſtatutes were mere pretences, and never meant to be acted upon. Dominica is the only iſland from which Government has been able to obtain any returns to the circular queries which were deſpatched, reſpecting the execution of the colonial ſlave laws. That ſettlement is known to have been the moſt forward in its proviſions for the ſafety of the negroes; and a letter from the Governor (General Prevoſt), dated laſt January, admits that they are *not enforced*; adding,

adding, that 'they were considered, from the moment of passing them until the present hour, as *political measures to avert the interference of the mother country.*' Such evidence as this renders all commentary unnecessary. When the island which is best peopled with whites refuses to declare slave-murder a crime, and that which has made the most regulations for checking the minor abuses of the system, is proved to have been playing false—to have manufactured mock laws for the purpose of deceiving us; what remains for the mother country, but to apply the only effectual remedy, and instantly abolish the iniquitous traffic?

After the unexpected, and, we are convinced, accidental loss of the question in the House of Commons last Session, we trust that its friends will be too watchful and active to expose their cause once more to any chance of a defeat. It is with perfect confidence, therefore, that we look forward to the event of the ensuing discussion. But, in the mean time, we must take this opportunity of congratulating them upon the very important measure which has been carried into execution since Parliament rose, and which, we are astonished to observe, has excited so little attention in the country. We allude to the Order in Council, bearing date August 15th, and published in the London Gazette of the 27th, for preventing the further introduction of slaves into the colonies which have been ceded to his Majesty's arms during the present war. This wise and salutary proclamation forbids the importation of slaves into these settlements after the 1st of December next, on pain of forfeiting the ship and cargo, as well as the slaves; and awards the same penalty against all vessels which may be found at sea, after the 1st of January 1807, with slaves on board, bound to any of the conquered colonies. But as losses from casualties may from time to time diminish the black population, the Governors are empowered to grant licenses for importing a number, not exceeding three *per cent.* upon the stock in hand, upon proof being brought that a diminution to this amount has taken place, 'from extraordinary and unavoidable causes,' during the foregoing year. If any slave vessel touch at the conquered settlements without such a license, it is to be forfeited, with its whole cargo, unless it has been driven in by stress of weather; in which case, the slaves must be sent off within ten days; and one third of all forfeitures is given to the Governor of the colony—one third to the informer.

It is only necessary to recollect what possessions have been conquered during the war, that we may be able to estimate the vast importance of this measure. Besides the islands of Tobago and St Lucia, we have captured the whole of the Dutch colonies on the continent of South America—Surinam, Demerary, Berbice, and Essequibo. In all these settlements, therefore, the slave trade has been

been aboliſhed by the Order of Council; and it need ſcarcely be remarked, how great a proportion of the whole traffic was deſtined for their ſupply. Before the American war, the Dutch uſed to carry, in their own bottoms, from Africa to Guiana, ten thouſand negroes annually; and it is proved, by papers laid before Parliament, but which, we believe, have not yet been printed, that this importation was greatly increaſed during the laſt war, when thoſe poſſeſſions were in the hands of Great Britain. It is certainly not overrating its preſent amount, to eſtimate the yearly ſupply of negroes carried to our conquered colonies at fifteen thouſand,—about one half the ſupply of our own iſlands, which is the ſubject of the abolition queſtion. The deſtruction of this great branch of the ſlave trade, therefore, is an affair of infinite importance, conſidered in itſelf. But its conſequences upon the general queſtion are ſcarcely leſs material. Our Government has given a proof that it holds the traffic in abhorrence, by aboliſhing the only branch which is under its power, without conſulting the pretended rights of the Weſt Indian body: and, ſo long at leaſt as the war continues, an opportunity is afforded to the Guiana planters, of ſhewing how futile all the clamour has been, about the neceſſity of the African trade to the exiſtence of the colonies. It is no leſs important in another view, that the inveſtment of capital ſhould be prevented, which has uniformly been the conſequence of ſuch conqueſts, and has proved ſo detrimental both to the mother country and the old ſettlements, at the reſtoration of peace. This inveſtment could only be accompliſhed by means of the ſlave trade; as we have formerly had occaſion to explain.

There is only one part of the Order in Council which ſomewhat impairs the general ſatisfaction we derive from it. We allude to the proviſion reſpecting licenſes. A door is certainly left open for the continuation of the trade, though on a very narrow ſcale, and under reſtraints which there is every care taken to have rigorouſly enforced. We could perhaps have wiſhed, that the meaſure had been abſolute and unaccommodating; yet it is fair, at the ſame time, to conſider, that ſo long as the Legiſlature permits an unlimited ſlave trade to flouriſh in our own iſlands, the difficulty of totally preventing it in the conquered ſettlements muſt be extreme; and that ſome ſuch permiſſion as we have juſt now alluded to, may have been deemed the beſt method of preventing a contraband ſlave trade in Guiana from riſing out of the regular traffic carried on for the ſupply of the Britiſh planters. We truſt, however, that the Miniſters who have effected this great change, will be vigilant in ſuperintending its execution; and thus prove, that the imperfection which they have left in their meaſure, was only a neceſſary conſequence of Parliament having hitherto refuſed to take its ſhare in the work.

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